

# ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER,

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## Monthly Summary.

**DOMESTIC.**—The Parliamentary Papers on the Slave-trade have been issued, with a return, on the motion of Colonel Sykes, containing a list of the vessels employed on the West Coast of Africa during the last ten years, shewing the sickness and mortality which have taken place amongst the crews, and the number of slave captures which have been made in each of the ten years to which the return relates.

The report made to Lord Stanley by Mr. Smith, the acting judge at Sierra Leone, sets forth that no captures were made within the waters of the colony during the year, nor from the rivers to the north of that settlement. Mr. Smith had not heard of a single cargo of slaves being shipped, nor even a rumour of slaving operations carried on there. From Havana the report, up to the end of September last, is equally satisfactory, a circumstance largely attributable to the difficulty which has been interposed by the American, as well as our own Government, in the way of slaves being surreptitiously landed on the island of Cuba. Mr. John V. Crawford describes it as “a remarkable feature” that his report is unaccompanied by any statement of landing slaves, but that it would be unsafe to infer from that fact that the traffic has ceased, or that no negroes have been con-

veyed from Africa during that period. Mr. Crawford says that at least one cargo made its appearance off the island in May last, and was reported to have been landed at La Esperanza, in the Vuelto de Abajo; but he significantly adds that, “in the absence of positive and undeniable testimony, it is only just to accept the assurance of the Spanish authorities that that report was untrue.” Several cargoes of African slaves were reported to have been landed at different times and places in Cuba; but the acting-commissary judge believes the reports were untrue. He also recognises the great determination, for the suppression of the traffic, shown by the late Captain-General Manzano. Her Majesty's Commissioner at the Cape of Good Hope has great hope that the traffic, formerly so rife, is rapidly approaching extinction, at any rate in the south, although in the north, and particularly on the north coast of Madagascar, it is still carried on. He thinks few European vessels now find it worth their while to run the risk of capture by visiting the east coast, and running the gauntlet of our cruisers for so long a voyage; and this result he attributes to the vigilance of our naval officers, and the closing of some of the marts to which the slaves were usually taken; but he fears that the traffic will continue as long as the Arab is the dominant race on the coast, and other Oriental nations maintain their

peculiar views, and their marts are kept open. Her Majesty's Commissioner is convinced that the diminution in the traffic is not due to any sense of its moral turpitude on the part of the inhabitants, but to the exertions of the British force, and that were its vigilance abated, it would again spring up. From Loanda the report of Mr. E. H. Hewett, Her Majesty's acting-commissioner, is equally satisfactory, for while not a single attempt is reported to have been made during the past year to ship slaves to Cuba from that part of the coast lying between Cape Lopez and Mossamedes, a great number of the men formerly engaged in the export of negroes are devoting themselves to the more honourable and praiseworthy avocations of regular licit trade.

The traffic carried on in the Mozambique Channel has placed in the way of the British authorities many serious difficulties. Writing to the commodore of the Indian squadron, Captain Bedingfield, of Her Majesty's ship *Wasp*, says the attempt to put down the slave-trade, under the present system adopted at Zanzibar, is simply a farce, and that it was painful to see and hear all that was going on there, twelve or fourteen months ago, with the British flag flying in the harbour. His letter was dated December 1, 1866; and Captain Bedingfield says that "dhows, crammed with wretched negroes from Kilwa, are paraded so that we may see them. Men on shore openly boast of the number that are sent north every year, and of even selling slaves in Bombay!" Even the collector of customs on slaves, who receives two dollars a head, is a British subject, enjoying British protection, which he had received for many years.

[In another column will be found a series of despatches extracted from the Slave-trade Papers.]

The return moved for by Colonel Sykes shews that twenty-five ships were employed upon the African coast during the year 1867, which was in excess of any number stationed there since 1858, when there were also twenty-five vessels on the coast. Returns from all the ships have not been received, so that the statement for 1867 is not complete. During the ten years no less than 8330 slaves have been captured, although the traffic has been so far effectually suppressed that, during the last four years, only nine have been taken. There is, however, no considerable diminution in the rate of sickness and mortality, although the new arrangement of the Admiralty shortening the term of service on the coast, it is hoped, will be attended with beneficial results.

Further and apparently conclusive evi-

dence of the safety of Dr. Livingstone has reached England, details of which will be found in another column. Sir R. Murchison, and other friends of the intrepid traveller, have received letters from him considerably later than the date at which he was reported to have been killed; and there is every reason to hope that, ere many weeks, we may have the pleasure of recording his arrival in England.

Mr. Adams, the American Minister in London, has consented, at the request of his Government, to remain for some time longer at his post.

The Queen has appointed Horatio James Huggins, Esq., to be Assistant Judge of the Supreme Court of Her Majesty's Settlement of Sierra Leone, on the Western Coast of Africa, and George Phillippo, Esq., to be Queen's Advocate for that Settlement. Her Majesty has also appointed Sir Arthur Edward Kennedy, Knt., C.B., Her Majesty's Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the West-African Settlements, to be Her Majesty's Judge in the several Courts of Mixed Commission established at Sierra Leone with foreign Powers for the suppression of the slave-trade.

The above-mentioned Mr. Huggins is a pluralist. Besides his office as Assistant Judge, he is Law Adviser of the Governor on the affairs of all Her Majesty's Settlements on the West Coast of Africa; a Member of the Executive and Legislative Councils in Sierra Leone; a Legal Member of the Court of the Governor and Council; Acting Assistant-Judge of the Supreme Court; sole Judge of the Crown Lands Court; sole Judge of the Summary Jurisdiction Court; Judge of the Insolvent Court; sole Judge of the Court of Escheat; Judge of the Supreme Court of Appeal, &c. Mr. Huggins' income from these appointments is said to be 1600*l.* a-year; and his son further enjoys some small sinecure, amounting to about 300*l.* a-year. As he is now gazetted to the office of Assistant-Judge, the superior emoluments of this office, over and above those from being Queen's Advocate, which he now loses, will raise his official gains to from 2000*l.* to 2200*l.* a-year.

Mr. John Ashwood, in the same colony, is First Clerk of the Mixed Commission at 360*l.* a-year; Acting Treasurer, at 300*l.* a-year; and Liberated African Clerk, at 150*l.* a-year.

The Count de Lavradio, Minister Plenipotentiary of Portugal, and Mr. Gerard Ralston, Consul-General of Liberia, have just exchanged the ratifications of a treaty of amity, commerce and navigation between their two nations, one article of which assimilates slave-trade to piracy, and punishes it accordingly. The Republic

of Haiti has made a similar treaty with Liberia, so that this infamous traffic is thus denounced by at least three civilised nations of the world. England, Holland, the United States, and some other nations, have denounced it by statute law; but only these three Powers have proclaimed it piracy by international law; and in each future treaty to be made by Liberia it is to be hoped that a similar article will obtain. Liberia has now made fifteen treaties with European and American nations, namely, Austria, England, France, Denmark, Italy, Prussia, Sweden, Belgium, Hamburg, Bremen, Norway, the United States, Lubeck, Holland and Portugal; and it is strongly desired that Brazil, Russia and Spain should join the other Governments, for it is most advantageous to the young African republic to be thus recognised, encouraged and received into the family of civilised nations.

On Friday, 3rd ult., a large deputation of the National Freedmen's Aid Union waited, by appointment, upon the Hon. C. F. Adams, to present him an address, on the occasion of his relinquishment of his office as United States Minister to this country. In another column will be found a full report of the proceedings.

A case is pending in the Court of Queen's Bench, at the instance of Alexander Phillips, a native of Jamaica, against ex-Governor Eyre, for assault, false imprisonment, beating and torturing, in October and November, 1865. The declaration was filed on the 23rd of December last, and was met by a plea of, *inter alia*, "Not guilty." A replication by plaintiff, and rejoinder by defendant, and sur-rejoinder by plaintiff, joining issue, were subsequently filed, and an order obtained from Mr. Justice Willes for the examination of a witness, Mr. George Phillippo, obliged to leave this country. The examination took place on Friday and Saturday, the 17th and 18th ult., in Nicholl's Rooms, Westminster, before Mr. C. Hance, barrister. Mr. Quain, Q.C., and Mr. Horne Payne appeared for the plaintiff; Mr. Pethram appeared for the defendant. Mr. George Phillippo, barrister, the witness referred to, formerly practising in Jamaica, but recently appointed Queen's Advocate-General for Sierra Leone, and on his way to that colony from Jamaica, gave evidence at great length regarding the system of law in force in Jamaica. At the conclusion of his examination the proceedings terminated. The plaintiff, who lays his damages at 10,000*l.*, was present.

On the 6th, the same Mr. Justice Willes had been applied to already, in the same case, on the part of the defendant, to amend one of his pleas in reference to

the Jamaica rebellion.\* Mr. Pethram, instructed by Mr. Rose, appeared in support of the application. Mr. Horne Payne, instructed by Messrs. Shaen, appeared for the defendant.

The object of the application was to amend the second plea, as to an Act of Indemnity passed, under which the defendant alleged he had acted in the suppression of the rebellion.

Counsel having discussed the matter on the point raised, his lordship granted permission to the defendant to amend his plea, and an order was accordingly drawn up for that purpose.

Mr. Eyre has also himself been again before the courts, at the suit of the Jamaica Committee. On the 17th ult., Sir R. P. Collier, Q.C., applied to Mr. Vaughan, the sitting magistrate, for a summons against Mr. Eyre, on a charge of misdemeanours, committed during his term of office in Jamaica. The proceedings were taken under the Colonial Governors' Act, and the statutes supplementary thereto. After hearing the arguments of Sir R. P. Collier, Mr. Vaughan granted the summons. On Tuesday, the 21st, Mr. Eyre appeared at Bow Street, in answer to the summons, when Mr. Vaughan raised a technical objection to his further hearing the application, on the ground that the Court of Queen's Bench—to which alone he could commit under the Act—was not a Court of Oyer and Terminer, and therefore he held he had no jurisdiction in the case. Sir R. P. Collier argued on the contrary side, and ultimately the summons was adjourned till the 4th May, to afford time for an application to the Court of Queen's Bench. On the 30th ult., this application was made before the Lord Chief Justice and others. It was for a rule to compel the Bow Street magistrate to hear the evidence against Mr. Eyre, on a charge of high crimes and misdemeanours. The arguments of Sir R. P. Collier prevailed, and a rule *nisi* was accordingly granted. Mr. Vaughan will therefore be compelled to show cause why he should not hear the evidence against Mr. Eyre, and in the event of his failing to do so, a writ of *mandamus* will immediately issue, and he will be compelled to hear the charges against Mr. Eyre, and the evidence in support of them. The arguments in this case would be heard on the 6th current.\*

Mr. Taylor, M.P., has moved an address for "Copy or extracts of all correspondence relating to the importation of South Sea Islanders into Queensland."

\* The rule having been made absolute, Mr. Vaughan commenced hearing the evidence on the 15th instant.—(Ed. A. S. R.)



Sir T. F. Buxton, Bart., has also asked whether the Sultan of Zanzibar has lately offered to make any arrangements for the suppression of the slave-trade between that island and the mainland; whether any conditions were attached to his offer; whether it has or not been accepted by Her Majesty's Government, and, if not, for what reasons. In reply, Lord Stanley said the hon. baronet would find in the papers already presented to the House this year—Class B, pages 112 to 114—a full statement of the proposal made by the Sultan of Zanzibar, and the conditions with which it had been accompanied. That proposition was still under consideration; the Government was fully impressed with the desirability of accepting it if possible, but the conditions involved important considerations, and some points affected matters in which the India Office was interested.

The veteran abolitionist, Lord Brougham, is dead. He expired in his sleep, on Thursday, the 7th current, at his residence at Cannes. His lordship was in his 90th year.

The Committee of the Aborigines' Protection Society has addressed to the Duke of Buckingham a memorial on the subject of the introduction into Queensland of South Sea Islanders, as labourers. On the 27th April, the Duke wrote to Lord Alfred Churchill—a vice-president of the Society—to the effect that the question is under the consideration of the Government. We are glad to see that Mr. T. P. Taylor is going to press the Colonial Minister for a declaration as to the intentions of the Government.

UNITED STATES.—*Congressional*.—The trial of the President has absorbed all other business. Mr. Johnson's counsel sought to protract the proceedings, but as ample opportunity had already been afforded to the President to prepare his reply, a short term only was permitted, out of consideration to form and usage in legal cases. General Butler sustained the articles of impeachment—given in our last, and read on the 4th March before a crowded House—and evidence having been produced in support of them, the President was submitting his defence by counsel when the mail left. The result, it was anticipated, would be the suspension of the President from office.

Senators decline to suspend Johnson from office during his trial, it is understood, to avoid a revolutionary conflict, which might arise if suspension was attempted. Johnson has called General Hancock to his service, and appointed him to an important command, with headquarters in Washington.

## THE NEGLECTED RESOURCES OF JAMAICA.

### No. 2. STARCHES.

STARCH is a substance easily manufactured, and, being largely used in several of the arts, as well as an article of diet, there consequently exists a considerable demand for it in this country.

It may be obtained from a great variety of plants, and many of the most productive of it are natives of the tropics.

The high prices commanded by grain and bread stuffs in Europe renders the present a remarkably favourable time to test what can be done in this branch of tropical agriculture; for should the potato disease return, or this root be less extensively planted than hitherto, starch must maintain a high price, and it will be desirable to ascertain whether some of the superior starch-producing plants of the tropics might not be cultivated to such an extent as to supply the English market, and thus be at once profitable to the colonies and advantageous to the mother country.

The process of obtaining starch appears to be encumbered with few difficulties, and those not of a character which ought to deter those possessing the necessary facilities for its growth from engaging in it.

A valuable plant, the *Echites subscrecta*, belonging to the natural order *Apocynææ*, which yields a beautiful starch, grows wild in Jamaica.

Several species are indigenous, and grow commonly in the fields and about the fences. It is a weak, shrubby, trailing plant, with smooth, shining leaves, and large flowers of a yellow colour. The whole plant contains a milky juice: it is always green in the driest weather.

The roots run a long way under ground, and bear long oval tubers which yield an abundance of starch.

Jamaica also produces a species of *Zamia*, of the natural order of the *Cycadaceæ*. (The *Cycadaceæ* family yields much starchy matter along with mucilage). According to Dr. Pereira, in the Bahama and other West-India Islands, a starch is obtained from the trunk of some species of this genus, which is employed as an excellent sort of arrow-root. "None of it, to my knowledge," he adds, "comes to Europe as an article of commerce." In the Kew Museum of Economic Botany there is a specimen of a starch sent from Jamaica, and stated to be "a nutritious powder made from the trunk of *Zamia integrifolia*, and sold in the West India markets."

Some of the specimens of this starch are very beautiful.

F. A. B. V.



# NATIONAL FREEDMEN'S-AID UNION.

ADDRESS TO THE HON. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

ON Friday, April 3rd ult., a deputation from the National Freedmen's-Aid Union had a private interview with the Hon. C. F. Adams, to present an address, expressive of their deep regard for His Excellency in his personal and official character; their gratitude for the wise and kind manner in which he had sympathized and communicated with them in their work; and their profound regret that he had resigned the post of American minister to this country. A strong desire was felt that not a private interview, but a demonstration of another character should take place; but this Mr. Adams most decisively though very courteously declined. Several gentlemen who were members of the deputation being of opinion, however, that the proceedings were of a nature which might benefit both countries, resolved, on their own responsibility, that a faithful account should be published, especially as some mistaken ideas might otherwise prevail as to what took place. The deputation—which met at the Langham Hotel—comprised Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Bart., M.P., President of the Union; the following Vice-Presidents: Sir Francis Crossley, Bart., M.P.; Samuel Gurney, Esq., M.P.; the Hon. A. Kinnaid, M.P.; J. W. Pease, Esq., M.P.; Colonel Sykes, M.P.; the Rev. Newman Hall, LL.B.; John Hodgkin, Esq.; and the Rev. F. J. Jobson, D.D.; also the Hon. Secretaries, the Rev. S. Minton, M.A.; Arthur Albright, Esq.; and John Taylor, Esq. Besides these were present: Stafford Allen, Esq.; William Allen, Esq.; J. Bevan Braithwaite, Esq.; L. A. Chamerovzow; Josiah Forster, Esq.; the Rev. J. C. Gallaway, M.A.; the Rev. Dr. Massie; William Pollard, Esq., Hertford; Joseph Sharples, Esq., and James H. Tuke, Esq., Hitchin; T. B. Smithies, Esq. (Editor of the *British Workman*); William Tweedie, Esq.; W. H. Warton, Esq., and F. Wneeler, Esq., Rochester, members of the Executive Committee; also James White, Esq., M.P.; the Rev. George Smith, D.D., and the Rev. Robert Ashton, Secretaries of the Congregational Union; J. Dollon Bassett, Esq., Leighton Buzzard; the Rev. Jabez Burns, D.D.; the Rev. Horrocks Cocks, Putney; the Rev. James Davis, Secretary of the Evangelical Alliance; the Rev. William Guest, F.G.S.; the Rev. George M. Murphy, Southwark; S. W. Partridge, Esq.; Robert Rae, Esq., Secretary of the National Temperance League; William Tallack, Esq., Secretary of the Howard Association; the Rev. Fred. Trestrail, F.R.G.S., Secretary of the Bap-

tist Missionary Society; the Rev. Charles Winter, Brompton, &c.

The deputation proceeded, at three o'clock, to Mr. Adams's residence, 54 Portland Place, where they were very cordially received by His Excellency.

Sir T. F. BUXTON read the address, of which the following is a copy:

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE HONOURABLE CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY TO THIS COUNTRY FROM THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

THE RESPECTFUL ADDRESS OF THE NATIONAL FREEDMEN'S-AID UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

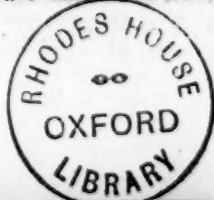
MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

It is with feelings of deep regret that we have learned that you are about to quit the important post of United-States' Minister in London, which you have filled, for nearly seven years, with such distinguished credit to yourself, and with so much advantage both to your own country and to ours.

Under ordinary circumstances, the retirement of an ambassador and the accession of his successor is an affair which affects the circle of the Court rather than the country at large, and which calls for the polite expressions of diplomatic etiquette rather than for the hearty language of national or philanthropic feeling. But we live in no ordinary times: and the period during which Your Excellency has been the connecting link in this country between the two great nations of the Anglo-Saxon race has been marked, through nearly its whole course, by events of more than ordinary importance in their respective histories.

Scarcely had the fall of Fort Sumter announced that the discontent of the Southern States of your great Republic had reached the point of rebellion, and that that rebellion had culminated in war, when the arrival of Your Excellency on our shores, as the messenger of continued peaceful intercourse between your country and ours, and as the representative of that great and good statesman and ruler, PRESIDENT LINCOLN, furnished expressive evidence, that although Slavery threatened a partial disruption of the United States, England and America were to continue in unbroken amity, and that freedom (freedom for the black as well as for the white) was eventually to strengthen and perfect that amity. And though circumstances of difficulty and partial misunderstanding occasionally arose, (as is sometimes the case in private life between the members of the same family, whose expectations are greater from each other than from strangers) yet, under the Divine blessing, peace was preserved, partly through wise diplomatic action, and eventually by the increased conviction wrought on the minds of the British people, that the extinction of Slavery had become a real and a principal issue of the conflict, which the President and the people of the United States were determined to decide once and for ever.

We cannot but recognise it as a providential circumstance, that whilst some of the difficulties to which we have adverted were occurring and



presenting themselves for solution, the favourable dispositions of our own rulers were seconded by so friendly, so able, and so discreet a representative of the American Government as Your Excellency.

But whilst we have thus glanced at some of the political events which have characterized the period of your ambassadorship, our proper business is not with politics, but with the philanthropic work in which it has been our privilege to take a humble part, in concert with the noble men and not less noble women of your country.

It may perhaps be needless, but we trust it will not be thought presumptuous, for us to state to Your Excellency, that, from the years 1862 and 1863, down to the present time, the undersigned, or a large proportion of them, including the President and most of the officers and members of the National Freedmen's Aid Union, have, as well in their individual character as in connexion with the religious bodies to which they belong, and, for the last three or four years, in a more corporate character, (with some slight changes of organization,) been laboriously engaged in raising funds for the relief of the coloured inhabitants of the United States, and in transmitting them to your various Freedmen's Aid Commissions and Societies, and your Missionary and other philanthropic bodies, to be applied in feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and instructing the ignorant.

May we, in bidding Your Excellency our regretful adieu, on your departure from amongst us, not only express our sincere desires and prayers for your welfare and happiness in returning to your native land, but also venture respectfully to add our confident trust that your great influence will continue to be given to the promotion of two objects which you, as well as ourselves, have, we believe, sincerely at heart, namely, the advancement of the physical, intellectual, moral, religious, and political welfare of the emancipated negroes throughout your great country, and the maintenance of cordial harmony and co-operation between the governments and people of the United States and of Great Britain. And may the Most High crown your efforts herein with His blessing.

No. 12, Bishopsgate Street Without,  
London, April 3, 1868.

Sir FOWELL went on to say: The address which I have now had the honour to read to Your Excellency is one that so fully expresses my own feelings, that I need not add more than a few words to what it contains. At the same time, I do not like this opportunity to pass without acknowledging the debt that I feel that our Union, which is chiefly represented here, owes to you. It has often happened that we have stood in need of information, which I have, on more than one occasion, been deputed to seek from your hands. I especially allude to some of the reports of district generals, which could only be obtained through official resources; such as the reports of General Thomas and others, which were of special value and importance at a time when the true facts in relation to the

freedmen were so difficult to obtain. And I am glad to have this opportunity of thanking you, not only for the cordiality and kindness with which you received us, but for the anxiety you always showed to obtain for us any papers that could be of value. I cannot but hope that the good feelings that now exist between our country and yours, and which are, to so great an extent, owing to your efforts, may be long maintained, may continually increase, and may be a means of much good to the whole world. Leaving this address with you, allow me to assure you that it represents the feelings of many beyond the members of the National Freedmen's Aid Union by which it has been more immediately drawn up.

Sir T. F. BUXTON introduced JOHN TAYLOR, Esq., who said: We have received a great number of letters from gentlemen, expressive of their regret that they are unable to be present with us this morning, and desiring that their names may be appended to the address. Of these I will read only two, one from His Grace the Archbishop of York, and the other from the Rev. William Arthur, ex-President of the Wesleyan Conference:

"Bishopthorpe, York,

"March 28, 1868.

"Sir,—In answer to your circular, I write to say that my engagements in the country prevent me from attending the deputation to Mr. Adams on April 3. I have duties at Whitby on that day. But it would be very agreeable to me that it should be mentioned to Mr. Adams, that, but for this obstacle I should have had great pleasure in taking part in a demonstration of the universal esteem and respect with which he is regarded by all classes in this country.

"I am, Sir,

"Yours faithfully,

"Arthur Albright, Esq.

W. EBOR."

"Randolph Hotel, Oxford.

"March 30, 1868.

"My dear Sirs,—To me it is a cause of regret greater than I can express, that I shall not be in London so as to take part in the deputation to Mr. Adams. No one can have a deeper sense of his services than I. To very few is it given to help the cause of human happiness on a scale so large, and in a way so efficient as by promoting, and in critical moments preserving, good relations between two mighty nations. This Mr. Adams has been the instrument of doing; and may God bless him!

"Yours most truly,

"W. ARTHUR.

"Messrs. A. Albright and J. Taylor."

Sir FRANCIS CROSSLEY stated that he had been requested to speak on behalf of the members of the House of Commons, and in doing so had no hesitation in endorsing the statements expressed by previous



speakers, with regard to His Excellency, Mr. Adams. Sir Francis said that he had the honour of an introduction to Mr. Adams by the speaker of the House of Commons, when he was shewn over the Houses of Parliament on his first arrival in England as ambassador from the United States of America; and from that time to the present he had observed with very great pleasure how uniformly Mr. Adams had, whilst protecting the interests of his own country, studiously avoided every thing which might irritate or endanger the peace existing between the two great nations. Sir Francis Crossley further observed, that some years ago he had the pleasure of an extended tour through the United States, and then found how deeply rooted throughout the commercial classes there was the feeling of harmony and good brotherhood towards this country; and for his constituents in the West Riding of Yorkshire he could testify to those feelings being most heartily reciprocated. A great portion of the time spent by His Excellency in England had been one of considerable difficulty; and he (Sir Francis) was sure that all who wished well to both countries could only look upon his conduct throughout the whole course with unmingled admiration and approval; and, now that he was about to leave our shores, he would bear with him their earnest prayers, and his future career in his own country would be watched with the deepest interest.

JOHN HODGKIN, Esq., was then called upon to speak "on behalf of the Society of Friends, as represented in the National Freedmen's Aid Union of Great Britain and Ireland," and said: Our views and feelings are so fully embodied in the address which has been read by the President, Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, and in the speech which he has delivered, that little can be needed from me and my fellow-members of the Society of Friends but the expression of our cordial concurrence therein. If the successors and representatives of the Woolmans and Benezets of former days had been found wanting when emancipation had become an accomplished fact, and had not then come forward to do their part towards succouring the emancipated negroes, whether by providing food for the hungry, clothing for the naked, or education for the ignorant, *they* would have been doubly guilty. But I trust they have not hung back, but have taken their full share in this blessed and happy work—a work which has pre-eminently brought its own reward, for, in addition to its own deep interests and direct results, it has brought us into privileged intercourse with not a few pious and philanthropic Americans who have visited this country to pro-

mote the cause, and it has bound us more closely to our American brethren and them to us. And we venture even to think that our co-operation with them in the work has not been without its effect in promoting feelings of mutual regard between the two nations more at large. We have very gratefully to acknowledge the assistance which we have received from the American minister, and the advantage which our country, as well as America has derived from his friendly dispositions and from his eminent talents. Perhaps I may be allowed to refer to his hereditary as well as personal claims to our respect, as one (to use the words of Cicero) *Claro patre natus, avo, majoribus*, and, whilst regretting our loss in his retirement, to express our trust that we shall still continue to derive help from his good offices. It is very important that, between two such countries as England and America, ambassadors should be representatives of the feelings, not of the Governments only, but of the peoples also. My venerable friend, Josiah Forster, will add a few words on this great subject of the freedmen of America—a subject on which he is so much entitled to be heard, seeing that besides being a firm and consistent abolitionist through life, he has twice visited the United States in connection with the cause of the oppressed, in company with his deceased brother (the father of William Edward Forster, M.P., the late Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs), and on the last occasion personally interceded with the Governors of most of the States in favour of the negroes, whilst Slavery was yet in the ascendant.

JOSIAH FORSTER, Esq., emphatically expressed the hope that England and America might mutually seek to be governed by the righteousness on which alone true prosperity could be based; and breathed his devout desire for a blessing on their combined efforts for the elevation of the freedmen, for the union of the two countries, and for the welfare of the excellent retiring ambassador.

ARTHUR ALBRIGHT, Esq., speaking of the advantage which had resulted from the remission of duty (through the kind interference of Mr. Adams) on goods forwarded to America for the use of the suffering freedmen, quoted that gentleman's words, written in 1864—"That the feeling of kindness which the act will create will be worth far more than all." And he was glad to say, that from their friends in the United States they had received abundant testimony that these words had been truly prophetic. But then it might with truth be declared, at least as to his own local Association, that it had its first origin in America. In the mind of



the wife of one of the oldest manufacturers in Birmingham there sprang up the happy thought, that if it were possible to send a shipload of useful hardware for the use of the suffering freedmen, it would be a fitting reciprocation of the munificent aid which we in this country had received from America. This idea was adopted and enforced at a public meeting by one of their first merchants. This was their commencement; and now it was a pleasure to the Birmingham and Midland Association, to find from their record that the 1400 packages sent out through their office had been of a value nearly equal, all things considered, to that of the cargoes of the *George Griswold* and the *Achilli*, sent from America for the suffering Lancashire artisans. And the same desire gratefully to reciprocate the past generous charity of America had been largely operative in all the efforts made in Great Britain. The National Freedmen's-Aid Union would have been much better satisfied if they had found it possible to have equalled the amount of aid twice sent to this country from America. But considering the difficulties in the face of which their efforts had been carried out, they were glad to have sent assistance approaching an amount of 120,000*l*. The friends of Peace might well hope that it would become permanent and universal, when they found a gentleman standing in Mr. Adams's position declaring his belief, that the best diplomacy of all was that which took for its standard the golden rule of Christianity.

The REV. DR. SMITH said: I beg permission to add a few words in harmony with the sentiments already expressed by several gentlemen present, and I venture, as the Secretary of the Congregational Union of England, to assure Your Excellency of the esteem in which you are held as the representative of the United States by the Congregational Churches of this land. I had the pleasure soon after your arrival in our country of corresponding with you on a subject connected with the tranquil relations of your nation and ours. Words of wisdom and kindness from your lips have done much to maintain a good understanding between the two countries, and to ward off the possibility of any serious controversy between America and Great Britain. A war between two such communities, I should regard as one of the greatest calamities that could overtake the civilized world. The sympathy and concern of our Churches have been shown by a voluntary collection made by them for the advantage of the Freedmen of America. I never knew any collection made with greater cheerfulness or unanimity. A large number of contributions thus passed

through my hands, and I have had the pleasure of remitting considerably more than three thousand pounds sterling to New York, as the practical expression of our regard for the down-trodden and oppressed coloured people, now happily made free. You depart from us, Sir, amidst our regrets, and we shall not fail to follow you with our good wishes and prayers. You bear an honoured name, which, in time to come, as in bygone days, will, we hope, represent those great principles of intelligence, equity and freedom, which are the security alike of nations and smaller communities.

The REV. NEWMAN HALL remarked that his visit to America had increased the very high sense he had previously entertained of His Excellency's wisdom and moderation. He had found the Southern and Democratic party strongly anti-British in feeling; and though the Republican party were substantially strong friends of England, yet they all felt very deeply respecting the conduct of Great Britain during the war, and especially in reference to the Alabama. It was greatly due to the courtesy which Mr. Adams united with his firm fidelity to his own Government, that our diplomatic intercourse, under these circumstances, had been of so friendly a character. Mr. Hall then assured His Excellency of the strong sentiment of affection for America which pervaded the great masses of the people, saying that no one would venture, at any mass meeting of citizens, to speak disrespectfully of the United States; but that, on the contrary, any friendly allusion to that nation was sure to be responded to by the heartiest plaudits of the assembly. This being so, any pacific proposal of the Government was sure to be backed by the strong support of the people at large.

The Rev. DR. MASSIE said: Mr. Adams, I feel it will be seasonable I should add a few words to what has been spoken by others. I may remind you that I enjoyed the privilege to bear to your country, in the time of her trouble, a message of sympathy and confidence. In the midst of the war, and before the full tide of the contest turned in your favour (June 1863), I was entrusted with an address from seven hundred and fifty French Protestant pastors, entreating English pastors to unite in cordial manifestations of sympathy with the Northern States, contending for freedom to the coloured race, and to strengthen and encourage them in the maintenance of liberty in their whole territory; and also with another address, founded on the response and in the name of four thousand ministers in Britain to ministers and pastors of all Christian denominations throughout the United States,

assuring your citizens that "we look now to the territories of the Republic as lands sacred to freedom, destined to become the homes of industry, commerce, and Christian fellowship." I was welcomed in America by congregations of thousands, in every principal city from Washington to Missouri. It was my privilege to traverse, at that time, twenty of the States. Two years subsequently, I again visited and travelled through about twenty-six States of the Union, when conflict was subsiding, and peace was spreading her protecting wings over commerce and intercourse. I spent six months in frank and fraternal fellowship with officials in the Freedmen's Bureau, from General Howard to his remote assistants in Georgia and Tennessee. I have full assurance of the mutual confidence of our people on both sides, and the goodwill of all. I concur heartily in all the warm and generous emotions awakened by your retirement from the office which you have so long, so honourably, and so efficiently sustained, and trust your return to America will be to enjoy, for many years, the reward of your countrymen, the assurance of a true patriot, and the benediction of God, the Sovereign Ruler and Saviour.

The Rev. G. M. MURPHY said, that on behalf of a very large number of workmen in the south of London, he might express their sense of gratitude to His Excellency, for the readiness with which, on two different occasions, he had received deputations from them in reference to the recent contest, and the deplorable assassination of the late lamented President; and he was sure that, in leaving England, he would be followed by the prayers of very many of the sons and daughters of toil.

Mr. ADAMS, in reply, observed that this had been to him a most interesting meeting; and that not simply on account of the too flattering terms in which gentlemen had thought fit to allude to himself, but rather from the more important consideration, that through him these most friendly manifestations had been extended towards his countrymen at home. Moreover, it had been impossible for him to overlook the particular quarter from which they had emanated. He could not but remember, that at a critical moment in American affairs, when a great revolution had taken place in the condition of an unfortunate portion of the population, which, from a state of Slavery, had been suddenly thrown upon the world and their own feeble resources, it was the gentlemen before him and their friends who came spontaneously forward, as a matter of disinterested benevolence, to do their best in ministering to the immediate necessities of this destitute

and suffering class. It was acts such as this that were far more likely to establish permanent amity between nations, than any formal negotiations or written compacts. Mr. Albright had alluded to the fact, that the first idea of the Freedmen's Aid Association had been suggested by the movement that had been made in America some time previous, to come to the aid of the suffering industry of Lancashire. It was a noble reciprocation of goodwill. Of such efforts it was that harmony would spring between nations. A precedent like this, if followed in similar emergencies hereafter, might lay the foundations of lasting and universal peace. And thus would dawn, at some future moment, a new era of kindness in an emulation of good works, which might take the place of the jealousy and suspicion that inspired only strife and war. Accepting, as he did, the address which had been presented to him on this occasion, in the most grateful spirit, Mr. Adams could only say that he should go home with the strongest desire to bear testimony there to the good spirit which he must say seemed now very generally to prevail in this country. And to none would he accord a more liberal share of the credit of contributing to produce this state of things than to those before him, who had worked early and late in the cause of the needy and struggling freedmen. He begged to assure them all of his best wishes for their health and happiness.

The interview, which was of a most agreeable and satisfactory kind, lasted about forty-five minutes.

#### A. PHILLIPS *versus* EYRE.

It is known that Mr. Alexander Phillips, a native of Jamaica, has commenced an action against ex-Governor Eyre, for assault and false imprisonment, committed during the disturbances, damages being laid at 10,000*l*. Amongst the witnesses on his side is Mr. George Phillippo, son of the Rev. J. Phillippo, of Jamaica, and who has recently been appointed to the office of Queen's Advocate at Sierra Leone. As Mr. Phillippo was about to leave this country for the colony of Sierra Leone, an order was obtained from Mr. Justice Willes for taking his evidence. The examination commenced on Friday, the 17th ult., in Nicholl's Rooms, Westminster, before Mr. Hance, and terminated on Saturday, the 18th ult.

The declaration, filed on the 23rd of December last, sets out that, on the 24th October, 1865, the defendant assaulted, beat and imprisoned the plaintiff; that on



that day he was arrested, by order of the defendant, in the parish of Vere, in the county of Middlesex, Jamaica, and led, handcuffed and bound, to a certain court-house in Vere, where he was placed in the custody of a guard of soldiers, and imprisoned; that on the 25th of October, he was conveyed, handcuffed and bound with a rope, along public streets and highways, for a distance of thirty miles, to the house of the defendant, at Spanish Town, in the parish of St. Catherine, county of Middlesex, Jamaica; and that there the defendant caused him to be imprisoned, and did there further assault and beat him, and afterwards caused him to be forcibly conveyed twenty miles along highways and roads to Uppark Camp, in the parish of St. Andrew's, county of Surrey, Jamaica, and there caused him to be held in custody and imprisoned, still handcuffed and bound, in a cell; that, on the 26th October, defendant further assaulted him and beat him at Uppark, and caused him to be placed in the custody of a guard of soldiers, and afterwards taken publicly to the Ordnance Wharf at Kingston, and forcibly conveyed on board a ship called the *Wolverine*, and there confined in shackles, and brought a distance of forty miles to Morant Bay, parish of St. Thomas, county of Surrey, Jamaica; that, on the 27th of October, defendant further beat and assaulted the plaintiff at Morant Bay, and caused him to be forcibly conveyed, so shackled, from the ship to a wharf, and thence through the public streets and highways to a certain building, and there imprisoned for a long time; that defendant, on the 4th of November, 1865, further assaulted, beat, and imprisoned plaintiff, and caused him to be bound with ropes, and so bound, to be cruelly beaten and flogged, wounded and tortured, by reason of which he suffered grievously in body and mind, and became and was sore sick and disabled, and so remained for a long time, unable to attend to his affairs, and has suffered permanent injury in health, and was put to great expense for nursing and medical attendance while being cured of the wounds and the fever consequent thereon; and further, that the defendant took his goods, viz., books, papers, writings, and articles of wearing apparel, and disposed of them to his own use.

To this declaration defendant pleads first, not guilty; and secondly, that before and at the time of committing the alleged grievances he was Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of the Island of Jamaica—a colony and dependency of the British Crown—by virtue of a commission from her Majesty; that before the time referred to in the declaration divers persons in

Jamaica conspired by force to overthrow the constitution and Government in the said island as by laws established; that in pursuance of the said conspiracy great numbers of persons in the island had broken out into open rebellion, and had committed many burglaries, robberies, arsons, murders, and other felonies, and the civil power of the island was overcome by the rebels; that the defendant, with the assistance and co-operation of the military and naval forces of the Queen and of her Majesty's faithful subjects in the island, had, by force of arms, arrested the progress of the rebellion; and that, after the rebellion had been so arrested, a certain Act of Parliament was made and passed by the Governor, Legislative Council and House of Assembly of the island, for the purpose of indemnifying defendant, and all other officers and persons concerned in arresting the rebellion, from all personal acts, suits, indictments, prosecutions or other proceedings, present or future, whatsoever, against such authorities or officers, civil, military or naval, or other persons connected with them, for or by reason of any matter or thing commanded, ordered, directed or done since the promulgation and publication of the proclamation of martial law, whether done in any district in which martial law was proclaimed, or in any district in which it was not proclaimed, in order to suppress the said insurrection and rebellion, and for the preservation of the public peace; and that all such persons should be freed, acquitted, discharged and indemnified, as well against the Queen's most gracious Majesty, her heirs and successors, as against all other persons and person whomsoever. The plea sets out several clauses in the Act of Indemnity, and proceeds to aver that by the law and constitution of the island the Governor, Legislative Council and House of Assembly had power and authority to make and pass the Act, and that the Act afterwards received the assent of her Majesty, and became, and is a part, of the laws of the island of Jamaica; that the alleged grievances were committed after the proclamation of martial law, and during the continuance of the rebellion, and before the passing of the Act, and were measures used in the suppression of the rebellion, and were reasonably and in good faith considered by the defendant to be proper for the purpose of putting an end to the rebellion, and were matters of themselves *bond fide* done to put an end to it, and are included in the indemnity given by the said Act.

A replication was put in by the plaintiff, averring that the second plea was bad in substance, and further that plaintiff sues



not only for the trespasses committed, but also for that the defendant committed such trespasses as are complained of and not included in the count referred to by the plea, on other occasions, for longer periods of time and in other places than are attempted to be justified or excused, and in excess of the alleged right or excuse; and so far as the second plea relates to divers of the trespasses committed on the high seas, plaintiff says that such trespasses were committed beyond the territorial limits within which the Jamaica Legislature had, at the time of passing the Act of Indemnity, jurisdiction or authority.

A rejoinder by the defendant, and a surrejoinder by the plaintiff, joining issue were subsequently filed.

Mr. Quain, Q.C., and Mr. Horne Payne appeared for the plaintiff; Mr. Petteram appeared for the defendant.

The witness, Mr. George Phillippo, is a member of the English bar, and was called in 1862. In the course of a long examination he explained the character of the Acts affecting Jamaica, and particularly those bearing on the action which he was bringing. He declared that the Act of Indemnity could not be held, and was not held, to justify or cover acts in themselves constitutionally illegal.

#### DR. LIVINGSTONE.

EVERY item of fresh intelligence respecting the eminent and intrepid African traveller, Dr. Livingstone, is now particularly interesting. The tales of the Johanna men are proved to be fictions—mere inventions of theirs to cover their cruel desertion of him. Although the most recent news from himself, direct, is dated the 2nd February, 1867—fifteen months ago—there is nothing in this to excite surprise, as the Doctor would, most likely, be prosecuting his explorations into the region where he expected to discover the real sources of the Nile, and settle the great geographical problem of centuries. The subjoined communications will furnish the reader with the latest details. It will be seen that he had been heard of so late as last October. We reprint his letters in order of date, so that the narrative of his movements may be as consecutive as possible.

The first are to friends of his in Scotland.

“Lake Nyassa, Aug. 20, 1866.

“We have had a long and weary trudge from the coast up to this, and have been almost shut up from letting our whereabouts be known. The Arab slave-traders all skeddaddle as soon as they hear of our approach, and away they go scuttling through pathless forests. I entrusted one

letter about the sepoys to a chief, to be given to a slave-trader, for I had no hope of looking one in the face, and at the time I gave it I had small hopes of its ever reaching its destination, for the fellows must conclude that they were bearing no good news about themselves. I write, however, in case I may light on one, as I did on Seph Rubea, by accident. He heard that I was famishing, and came forward, like a man and brother, with an ox and big bag of flour. We had just accomplished a march of eight days across a depopulated tract of country, and he, with some 800 slaves, was just entering on it. I had made forced marches on the 6th and 7th day to buy food, and send it back to the weaker brethren. All but four had given in, when this good Samaritan slave-dealer took the precaution of taking the bull by the horns, “the English coming.” Why, what can the Christians want but our slaves? and off they all scamper. This dread of the English has the disadvantage that I cannot get a dhow, though there are two on the lake, for fear that I should burn it. The country is a gradual slope from the coast up to within fifty miles of this shore. When within the influence of the humidity of the Indian ocean, the forests are dense to a painful degree: one could no more take bearings of his position, unless he were a baboon, than if he tried to use his instrument out of the bung-hole of a hog-head. Farther up it is a more open forest, but still so thickly planted that one very seldom sees the horizon. At the confluence of the Rovuma and Scendi we came on a tract of country destitute of provisions, and here the sepoys entirely failed me. They had done their best to kill the beasts of burden, by way of forcing me to return, and they certainly succeeded in some instances. The tsetse probably helped, but the experiment was vitiated. The sepoys were morally unfit for travel; and then we had hard lines, all of us—food was not to be had for love or money; our finest cloths only got miserable morsels of the common grain. I trudged it the whole way; and having no animal food save what turtle doves and guinea fowls we occasionally shot, I became like one of Pharaoh’s lean kine. The last tramp that I referred to above brought us to a land of plenty; it was over a very fine country, but quite depopulated. I counted in one day’s march fifteen running burns, and this in the dry season. The country was then undulating and mountainous—generally from 2000 to 3000, then 4000 feet above the sea—cool and pleasant. The people near the coast are called Makonde, then Matambwe, then Makoa, then Waian or Waigan, then Agaua farther south, and lastly, Manganja or Wanyassa, here, on the lake. The principal chief, named Mataka, lives on the watershed overlooking this, but fifty miles or more distant. His town contained 1000 houses, many of them square, in imitation of the Arabs. Large patches of English peas, in full bearing, grew in the moist hollows, or where irrigated. Cattle showed that no tsetse existed. When we arrived Mataka was just sending back a number of cattle and captives to their own homes. They had been taken by his people, without his knowledge, from Nyassa. I saw them by accident. There were

fifty-four women and children, about a dozen young men and boys, and about twenty-five or thirty head of cattle. As the act was spontaneous, it was all the more gratifying to witness. From Mataka I sent the sepoys back. A more useless lot I never saw. It was all against the grain that they came; and they had such a sullen, hang-dog expression of face, the country people used to remark of them, 'These are the slaves of the party.'

"To come back to Nyassa was like visiting an old home I never expected to see. The roar of the waves, and a dash in the breakers, or rather rollers, was quite exhilarating. We get milk here, and often find fresh fish, very like herring in taste and appearance; these are putting some flesh on our bones. Where Dr. Rosdier came from I cannot make out. Nobody knew him as a European, and no one knows his name; I believe he travelled as an Arab. I have to stand a deal of staring, as the first Englishman they ever saw, but a poodle dog is as popular as any one. His appearance is so terrific to the country curs, that they flee from him as if he were a lion, and he chases them as if he believed the same thing of himself. I think his fierce appearance arises from it being difficult to decide at which end his tail lies. The rest of my party do pretty well."

"County of the Chipeta, Nov. 10, 1866.—It has been quite impossible to send a letter coastwise ever since we left the Rovuma. The Arab slave-traders take to their heels as soon as they hear that the English are on the road. I am a perfect bugbear to them. Eight parties thus skeddaddled; and, last of all, my Johanna men, frightened out of their wits by stories told them by a member of a ninth party who had been plundered of his slaves, walked off and left me to face the terrible Mazitu with nine Nassick boys. The fear which the English name has struck into the souls of the slave-traders has thus been an inconvenience. I could not go round the north end of the lake for fear that my Johanna men, at sight of danger, would do there what they actually did at the southern end, and the owners of two dhows now on the lake kept them out of sight, lest I should burn them as slavers, and I could not cross in the middle. Rounding the southern end, we got up Kirk's range, and among Manjanja not yet made slave-sellers. This was a great treat, for, like all who have not been contaminated by that blight, they were very kind; and having been worried enough by unwilling Sepoys and cowardly Johanna men, I followed my bent by easy marches among friendly, generous people, to whom I tried to impart some new ideas in return for their hospitality. The country is elevated, and the climate cool. One of the wonders told us in successive villages was, that we slept without fires. The boys, having blankets, did not need fires; while the inhabitants, being scantily clad, have their huts plastered inside and out, and even the roofs, to make themselves comfortable. Our progress since has been slow, from other and less agreeable causes. Some parts have been denuded of food by marauding Mazitu or Zulus; we have been fain to avoid these, and gone zigzag. Once

we nearly walked into the hands of a party, and several times we have been detained by rumours of the enemy in front.

"January, 1867.—I mention several causes of delay. I must add, the rainy season is more potent than all, except hunger. In passing through the Babisa country we found that food was not to be had. The Babisa are great slave-traders, and have, in consequence, little industry. This seems to be the chief cause of their having no food to spare. The rains, too, are more copious than I ever saw them anywhere in Africa; but we shall get on in time.

"February 1.—I am in Bemba or Lobemba, and at the chief man's place, which has three stockades around it, and a deep dry ditch round the inner one. He seems a fine fellow, and gave us a cow to slaughter on our arrival yesterday. We are going to hold a Christmas feast off it to-morrow, as I promised the boys a blow-out when we came to a place of plenty. We have had precious hard lines; and I would not complain if it had not been gnawing hunger for many a day, and our bones sticking through as if they would burst the skin. When we were in a part where game abounded, I filled the pot with a first-rate rifle given me by Captain Fraser; but elsewhere we had but very short rations, of a species of millet called 'macre,' which passes the stomach almost unchanged. The sorest grief of all was the loss of the medicine box which your friend at Apothecaries' Hall so kindly fitted up. All other things I divided among the bundles, so that if one or two were lost we should not be rendered destitute of such articles; but this I gave to a steady boy, and trusted him. He exchanged for a march with two volunteers, who behaved remarkably well, till at last hungry marches through dripping forests, cold, hungry nights, and fauquing days overcame their virtue, and they made off with 'Steady's' load—all his clothes, our plates, dishes, much of our powder, and two guns; and it was impossible to trace them after the first drenching shower, which fell immediately after they left us. The forests are so dense and leafy, that one cannot see fifty yards on any side. This loss, with all our medicine, fell on my heart like a sentence of death by fever, as was the case with poor Bishop Mackenzie; but I shall try native remedies, trusting him who has led me hitherto to help me still. We have been mostly on elevated land, between 3000 and 5000 feet above the sea. I think we are now on the watershed for which I was to seek. We are 4500 feet above the sea level, and will begin to descend when we go. This may be put down as 10 deg. 10 min. south lat., and long. 31 deg. 50 min. 2 sec. We found a party of black half-caste Arab slaves here, and one promises to take letters to Zanzibar, but they give me only half a day to write. I shall send what I can, and hope they will be as good as their word. We have not had a single difficulty with the people, but we have been very slow. Eight miles a day is a good march for us, loaded as the boys are; and we have often been obliged to go zigzag, as I mentioned. Blessings on you all. Love to Mrs. —. From yours, ever affectionately."



"February 1, 1867.—At Benaba, about 10 deg. 10 min. lat. S., and 31 deg. 30' min. E., for we came but yesterday. We crossed Leangwa River, and then had a long, wet, hungry march through the Babosa country to cross Chambeze, or Zambese, as here called, in 10 deg. 34 min. S. The Babosa are great slave-traders, and have reaped its fruits in a miserable, destitute, depopulated country. It is one great forest, with mountain and flood, very fine to look at, but toilsome—dripping with showers every day—small patches of millet at wide intervals, and scanty population, who have nothing to sell. Mushrooms in plenty in the dark forests; but a little millet porridge and mushrooms, woe is me! Good enough to produce fine dreams of the roast beef of Old England, but nothing else. I have become very thin; thought I was so before, but now, if you weighed me, you might calculate very easily how much you might get for the bones only; but I take on flesh easily, and we got a cow yesterday, and I am to get milk to-morrow, and will wait a little with the chief Chitapangwa—a good fellow, so far as we have seen him. I am on the watershed, I think at least about 4500 feet above the sea. We crossed one range 6600 feet, and near a spot where, I grieve to write it, poor poodle 'Chitane' was drowned. We had to cross a marsh a mile wide and waist deep—bottom soft, peaty stuff, in which one did well enough, but deep holes made by buffaloes' feet caused us to flounder. I went over first, and forgot to give orders about the dog; all were too much engaged in keeping their balance to notice that he swam among them till he died. He had more spunk than 100 country dogs—took charge of the whole line of march, ran to see the first in the line, then back to the last, and barked to haul him up; then, when he knew what hut I occupied, would not let a country cur come in sight of it, and never stole himself. He was becoming yellowish-red, like the country dogs, and he shared the starving with me. We have not had any difficulties with the people. Made many friends; imparted a little knowledge sometimes, and raised a protest against Slavery very widely. Some will remember what was said, and, at all events, a beginning was made. Some black slaves from the coast were found here—their first visit—but they go off to-morrow, and I try the experiment of sending letters, a few half-ready ones. I hope they may reach you. The rains hold us back, but we hope to be at our second supply of goods, at Tanganyika, by May. Not a line has come to me from the coast; so I am as ill off for news of you as you may be of me. I have but nine African boys with me. The Johanna men ran back in sheer horror of the Mazitu or Zulus. In fact, they did that at the south end of the lake which I feared would occur at the north end; but we have fewer mouths to fill, and when we are in a game country I generally secure a beast."

"Chitapangwa's Village, Bemba, Feb. 2, 1867.

"We have been a long time in working north to this, which is probably the watershed the geographers seek. We are some 4500 feet above the sea, and the river Simapula lies in front of us.

This is said to be very large, and flows into Lake Tanganyika, where we hope to be by May next. I have the anticipation of letters there, and a fresh stock of goods. The Arabs all fled from me as if I had the plague, and I could send nothing to the coast. We had to go a long way round about, besides, partly to prevent my Johanna men from running away at sight of danger, and partly because the Arabs were afraid that I would burn their vessels on Lake Nyassa as slavers. The Johanna men did at last bolt at the mere report of danger in front, and I went on and faced it with but nine Africans, six of whom are boys from a school at Bombay for the recaptured. The Johanna men were such a lot of thieves that it was a relief to get rid of them. We have since worked our way north, till we are in a part blank on the maps. We got enough of meat in the low land by the river, but when we got up to the high lands of the Babosa not an animal could be seen. The people, all scattered by their own slaving, could sell us nothing. They lived chiefly on mushrooms; and by trudging through dripping forests over sloppy marshes, the feet almost constantly wet, and goading hunger within, most of the flesh came off my bones. Here the people have something to sell, so we get on better, and mean to rest a while and recruit. This village has three stockades round it, the inner one being defended, too, by a deep ditch and thorny hedge. When we came, I went to be publicly received by the chief Chitapangwa. No one could go near him the first time without a present. He sat by a huge hut, and a dozen men beat drums and short rattles, so as to make a terrific din. I would not sit on the ground, so he ordered a big elephant's tusk to be placed for me. His legs were like milestones, from the number of rings and little bells on them. After talking a while he came along with me to a group of cows, and gave me one, sending the tusk to me because I had sat upon it; but I did not accept of it.

"The country is covered with forest, of two kinds of trees mainly, and these yield the bark cloth with which nearly all are clothed. The forests are very leafy, burnas (rivulets) run in every direction, and all are now full. I have had no news since we left the coast. I lost all my medicines at one blow. This is the sorest loss of property that ever befell me. I have had no fever as yet; but should it come, I must try native remedies, and trust in that watchful care which every moment guards and keeps us with a care more minute and constant than our self-love could attain."

We have next the record of the proceedings at the tenth meeting of the present session of the Royal Geographical Society, held on Monday evening, the 27th ultimo, at Burlington House, a crowded assembly, which comprised the Count of Paris, the Duke of Argyll, the Duke of Wellington, the Earl of Sheffield, Sir T. Fremantle, Sir H. C. Rawlinson, M.P.; General Pollock, Captain Sherrard Osborn, R.N.; &c., &c.:



In opening the business of the evening, the PRESIDENT said: Gentlemen, in January last, when by the return of the Livingstone Search Expedition my prediction respecting the great traveller was verified, and we had ascertained through the successful labours of Mr. Young and his associates that Livingstone had not been killed near the Lake Nyassa, but had passed on into the interior of Africa, I was so unwell that I could only express to you by letter the intense joy and gratification that I experienced at this result. Now, indeed, we have all fresh grounds for rejoicing now that we have in our hands letters from Livingstone himself, written four months after the time when the deceitful scoundrels of Johanna said he was killed, and 400 miles to the north of the spot where, as the lying Moosa declared, he saw him fall under the axe of a Zulu Kaffir. Gentlemen, I have already had an ample reward for the part I have played, in receiving the thanks of yourselves, and, indeed, those very generally of my countrymen, for having seen through the false story of the Johanna deserters, which produced such wide distress, and for having unflinchingly persevered in my endeavour to induce Her Majesty's Government to send out that expedition which brought to us the joyful tidings I anticipated, when hope had almost universally disappeared. The moment the falsehood of the reported death was detected, I felt certain that my illustrious friend would succeed in exploring the interior of Africa; for I knew how to calculate upon his undaunted perseverance, his iron frame, and, above all, upon that peculiar gift which he so eminently possesses of attaching to him, wherever he goes, the negro as his true friend. So, therefore, when it was reported by Arab traders who reached the east coast that a white man had been seen to the south of the Lake Tanganyika, I felt sure that that man must be Livingstone, and now we have the proof of it in his own handwriting. After the reading of the despatches and letters, I will invite those of our Fellows who are best acquainted with the geography of South Africa to express their opinions as to the probable route that Livingstone will follow before he emerges from Africa, and, reminding you of his usual rate of travelling, I will estimate the periods at which he may have reached certain points in his progress. Lastly, after placing before you the three hypotheses under which alone I think we can reason upon his ulterior route, we may speculate upon the time which may elapse, under each of these conditions, before he may, under Providence, bring his glorious labours to a happy end.

The communications from Dr. Livingstone were:

1. DESPATCH TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON, K.G.  
[Transmitted by Lord Stanley, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.]

"Bemba, lat. 10 deg. 10 min. S., long. 31 deg. 50 min. E., Feb. 1, 1867.

"My Lord,—On our arrival yesterday at this town, we found that a party of black Arab slave-traders was ready to start for B-gamoyo, near Zanzibar, and could remain only half a day to allow of our writing. The geographical matter must therefore be short.

"We could not go round the northern end of Lake Nyassa, as we intended, partly because the country had been swept of provisions by Zulu marauders, and partly because I felt sure that the Johanna men would flee at sight of danger, as they afterwards actually did, on mere report, at its southern end. By striking southwards, we passed through a depopulated tract of about 100 miles, but became acquainted with Mataka, the most influential chief on the watershed between the coast and the lake. His town consists of at least 1000 houses, and, the altitude above the sea being over 3000 feet, the climate is cold in July. Some of his people had gone to Lake Nyassa to plunder without his knowledge, and he had ordered the captives and cattle to be sent back. It was gratifying to find that this was his spontaneous act; and I accidentally got a sight of the party, and found it to consist of fifty-four women and children, a dozen boys, and about thirty head of cattle. We remained a considerable time in his town, and longer in his district, which extends down to Lake Nyassa, fifty miles distant. He was very anxious that some of the freed boys from Nassick school should remain with him to show the use that could be made of his cattle in agriculture, but I could not prevail on any one to remain. One had discovered two uncles in the town, but refused to live with them. 'How can I remain where I have no mother and no sister?' was his invariable answer to the request for him to stop. I promised to endeavour to get some lads from the same school, who had acquired a knowledge of Indian agriculture, to show him how to make and use ploughs.

"Mataka provided amply for our wants and safety while in his district; but he could not control the Arabs, who have placed two dhows on the lake, and kept them out of our reach lest we burn them as slavers. I was therefore forced to go round the southern extremity of the lake, instead of across the middle. There we visited the three most important Waijan chiefs, and those who are still the greatest slave-traders in the country. I do not know what effect, if any, our protest and explanations will have, but it seemed to be the first time they had heard their conduct condemned.

"The Waiiao people were very hospitable; and then an Arab, belonging to a slaving party which had been plundered of its slaves, came to us, and so wrought on the fears of the Johanna men by tales of the terrible Mazitu, or Zulus, that their eyes actually stood out with terror. They ran away under the sole influence of fear, and left me with only nine Nassick boys. The Johanna men had proved themselves such inveterate thieves in the way, that it was a relief to get rid of them.

"We had been in Mataka's district from the middle of July till the end of September, and in the beginning of October tried to go westward, so as to avoid the Mazitu altogether; but the people of Katosa, or Kiemasura, were afraid to take us up Kirk's range, because some Arab slave-traders had been driven hence by the exasperated inhabitants. Katosa tried to get carriers for us, but in vain; and being an old friend, he at last turned out with his wives to do the work

himself. Six stout ladies took up our loads, and soon shamed the young men with their sharp tongues. The range is only the edge of a high plateau, where the people, all Manganja, have not yet been led into buying and selling each other. We found them to be equally afraid of our people below, and, like all the interior people who have not been in contact with Slavery, very kind. I gave a present of a cloth, and got ample provisions cooked for supper to the whole party, and breakfast the next morning. The people were supposed to be Maravi, but are, in fact, Manganja under different names, as Kanthunda, Chipeta, Echewa, &c. Their land is high and cold. Their huts are plastered all over, even on the roofs, for the sake of heat by night. They are great agriculturists, and so many in number that one village is scarcely ever a mile from some other. We made short marches, and had a great deal of intercourse with these mountaineers; and possibly our account of the evils of the slave-trade may keep them from engaging in it headlong, as most Africans of this race are but too ready to do. The chief who had driven off the Arabs was delighted when I said I wished he would treat in the same manner all slaving parties of whatever colour, but complained that his countrymen would not join with him in expelling an invasion. This is true, for each village being independent of every other, they have no more cohesion than a rope of sand.

As we went westward to avoid the Mazitu, we turned northwards as soon as we were past the longitude of their country, and nearly walked into the hands of a party out plundering. We met two villagers fleeing from them to some mountains, and went in the same direction, in order to defend ourselves and them; but the Mazitu, after plundering the villages to which we were proceeding, turned off to the south-east. As we went northwards we saw more and more of their devastations, and suffered considerably from want of provisions. Crossing the Loangwa and the great valley in which it flows, the bed of an ancient lake, we entered Lobisa, a country of the Babisa, and for the first time got information as to the route the Portuguese followed in going to Cazembe. It is placed by the map-makers very much too far east. We never came upon it, so trod on new ground. It will enable one to form an idea of the way we went, if he conceives us going westwards from Katosa's, and then northwards till we take up the point at which we left off in 1863. The watershed between the Loangwa and Chambeze rises up to 6600 feet. The Chambeze was crossed in lat. 10 deg. 34 min. S. It had flooded all its banks with clear water, but the lines of trees showing its actual size were not more than forty yards apart. I think that we are now on the watershed, though not the highest part of it, between Chambeze and Loapula. We have suffered a great deal from gnawing hunger. The Babisa, who were among the first natives to engage in Slavery, have suffered its usual effects. Their country is depopulated, and the few inhabitants, now living at wide intervals from each other, had no provisions to sell. In the Loangwa valley, and also in that of the Chambeze, I had no difficulty in securing supplies of meat with the rifle; but Lobisa had

no animals, and we had hard lines in marching through its dripping forests. We had no difficulties with the natives, other than those petty annoyances which are not wanting in even the smoothest life, and certainly not such as an explorer should moan over. This town has a treble line of stockades, and a deep ditch round the inner one. The chief seems a frank, jolly person, and, having cattle, we mean to rest a little with him. We are very much emaciated, but, like certain races of pigs, take on fat kindly. Our sorest loss has been all our medicines. We are 4500 feet above the sea, but, having rains every day, feel that we need, like the cattle of the people, the protection of huts. I regret that my geographical notes must be so scanty, but hope to send fuller information from Tanganyika. Our progress hitherto has been very slow. The boys cannot go more than seven or eight miles a day with their loads, and that is enough for me too, with only a heavy rifle.—I am, &c.,

“DAVID LIVINGSTONE.”

## 2. LETTER TO SIR RODERICK MURCHISON.

“Bemba, 2nd February, 1867.”

“My dear Sir Roderick,—This is the first opportunity I have had of sending a letter to the coast, and it is by a party of black Arab slave-traders from Bagamoyo, near Zanzibar. They had penetrated here for the first time, and came by a shorter way than we did. In my despatch to Lord Clarendon I gave but a meagre geographical report, because the traders would not stay more than half a day; but, having written that through the night, I persuaded them to give me an hour or two this morning, and if yours is fuller than his lordship's you will know how to manage. I mentioned to him that I could not go round the northern end of Lake Nyassa, because the Johanna men would have fled at first sight of danger; and they did actually flee, on the mere report of the acts of the terrible Mazitu, at its southern extremity. Had I got them fairly beyond the lake, they would have stuck to me; but so long as we had Arab slave parties passing us they were not to be depended on, and they were such inveterate thieves it was quite a relief to get rid of them, though my following was reduced thereby to nine African boys, freed ones, from a school at Nassick, Bombay. I intended to cross at the middle of the lake, but all the Arabs (at the crossing station) fled as soon as they heard that the English were coming, and the owners of two dhows now on the lake kept them out of sight lest I should burn them as slavers. I remained at the town of Mataka, which is on the watershed between the sea-coast and the lake, and about fifty miles from the latter. There are at least a thousand houses (in the town), and Mataka is the most powerful chief in the country. I was in his district, which extends to the lake, from the middle of July to the end of September. He was anxious that some of the liberated boys should remain with him, and I tried my best to induce them, but in vain. He wished to be shown how to make use of his cattle in agriculture; I promised to try and get some other boys acquainted with Indian agriculture for him. That is the best point I have seen for an influential station; and Mataka showed some sense of right when his people went,



without his knowledge, to plunder at a part of the lake—he ordered the captives and cattle to be sent back. This was his own spontaneous act, and it took place before our arrival; but I accidentally saw the strangers. They consisted of fifty-four women and children, about a dozen boys and thirty head of cattle and calves. I gave him a trinket in memory of his good conduct, at which he was delighted, for it had not been without opposition that he carried out his orders, and he showed the token of my approbation in triumph.

“Leaving the shores of the lake we endeavoured to ascend Kirk’s range, but the people below were afraid of those above, and it was only after an old friend, Katosa or Kiemasura, had turned out with his wives to carry our extra loads that we got up. It is only the edge of a plateau, peopled by various tribes of Manganja, who have never been engaged in slaving: in fact, they had driven away a lot of Arab slave-traders a short time before. We used to think them all Maravi, but Katosa is the only Maravi chief we know. The Kanthunda, or climbers, live on the mountains that rise out of the plateau. The Chipeta live more on the plains there; the Echewa still farther north. We went west among a very hospitable people till we thought we were past the longitude of the Mazitu; we then turned north, and all but walked into the hands of a marauding party of that people. After a rather zigzag course, we took up the point we had left in 1863, or say 20 min. west of Chimanga’s, crossed the Loangwa in 12 deg. 45 min. S., as it flows in the bed of an ancient lake, and after emerging out of this great hollow, we ascended the plateau of Lobisa at the southern limit of 11 deg. S. The hills on one part of it rise up to 6,000 feet above the sea. While we were in the lowlands I could easily supply our party with meat, large game being abundant, but up on these highlands of the Babisa no game was to be found. The country, having become depopulated by the slaving in which the people engaged is now a vast forest, with here and there, at wide intervals, a miserable hamlet. The grain is sown in little patches in the forest, and the people had nothing to sell. We had now a good deal of actual gnawing hunger, as day after day we trod the sloppy, dripping forests, which yield some wretched wild fruits and lots of mushrooms. A woman can collect a load of half a hundred weight: after cooking, they pound them into what they call porridge; but woe is me! they are good only for producing dreams of the roast beef of bygone days. They collect six kinds, and reject about ten, some as large as the crown of one’s hat. When we got to the Chambeze, which was true to the character of the Zambezi, in having abundant animal life in its waters, we soon got an antelope on its banks. We crossed it in 10 deg. 34 min. It was flooded with clear water, but the lines of bushy trees which showed its actual banks were not more than forty yards apart. We arrived here (at Bemba) on the last day of January; it is a stockaded village, with three lines of defence, the inner one having a deep dry ditch round it. I think, if I am not mistaken, that we are on the

watershed we seek, between the Chambeze and Loapula. I have not had any time to take observations, as it is the rainy season, and almost always cloudy; but we shall rest a little here and get some flesh on our bones. We are about 10 deg. 10 min. S., 31 deg. 50 min. E. Altitude about 4,500 feet above the sea. The Loapula, or Luapula, is said to be a very large river, but I hope to send fuller information from Tanganyika. I have done all the hunting myself, have enjoyed good health, and no touch of fever; but we lost all our medicine—the sorest loss of goods I ever sustained; so I am hoping, if fever comes, to send it off by native remedies, and trust in the watchful care of a Higher Power. The chief here seems a jolly frank person, but unless the country is insecure I don’t see the use of his lines of circumvallation. He presented a cow on our arrival, and a huge elephant’s tusk, because I had sat on it.

“I have had no news whatever from the coast since we left it, but hope for letters and our second stock of goods (a small one) at Ujiji. I have been unable to send anything either; some letters I had written in hopes of meeting an Arab slave-trader, but they all ‘skel’dled’ as soon as they heard that the English were coming. I could not get any information as to the route followed by the Portuguese in going to Cazembe till we were on the Babisa plateau. It was then pointed out that they had gone to the westward of that which from the Loangwa valley seems a range of mountains. The makers of maps have placed it (the Portuguese route) much too far east. The repetition of names of rivers, which is common in this country, probably misled them. There are four Loangwas flowing into Lake Nyassa.

“Would you kindly say to Captain Richards that I had to draw some rifles and ammunition from H.M.S. *Wasp*, and I shall feel obliged if he makes that right.

“With kindest regards to Lady Murchison, I am, ever affectionately yours,

“DAVID LIVINGSTONE.”

### 3. EXTRACTS FROM A DESPATCH OF MR. CHURCHILL, H.M. CONSUL AT ZANZIBAR, TO LORD STANLEY.

“Dr. Livingstone expected to reach the Tanganyika by the month of May last, and will have been at Ujiji in June. At Ujiji he will have found provisions and medicines sent to him in July, 1866, by Dr. Seward. It is little likely that further provisions sent to him now, reaching Ujiji as they probably would a year after his expected arrival there would ever be received, particularly as no direction of his course is given after that place. Bandouky and his two companions, one of whom had accompanied Captain Burton to the Tanganyika, as one of the ‘sons of Rumjee,’ were questioned with reference to the geography of the country between Wemba (Bemba) and the coast, and from their description it would appear that no river of any magnitude had been crossed anywhere. Nor does Dr. Livingstone mention the existence of a river of any size other than the Chambeze or Zambezi



and the Loapula, which do not join the Nyassa. Under such circumstances (a complete circle having been described round the Nyassa conjointly by Dr. Livingstone and Bundouky's party), the important question of the disconnection of the Nyassa and the Tanganyika, as Dr. Kirk well observes, appears to be satisfactorily solved.

"The Johanna men deserve punishment for the want of truth they exhibited in reporting Dr. Livingstone's death. I propose addressing H. H. Sultan Abdullah and Mr. Sunley on the subject as soon as an opportunity offers.

"I have, &c.,

"H. G. W. CHURCHILL.

"Zanzibar, Jan. 27, 1868.

Mr. Churchill has also communicated the following later intelligence of Dr. Livingstone's movements, obtained from a native trader :

"STATEMENT OF ISSA BIN ABDULLA KHARRUSEE, AN IVORY MERCHANT, WHO HAS JUST ARRIVED FROM UJJI.

"I left Ujiji on October 6, and went to Salusee, where I remained ten days previous to setting out for the coast. While there I learnt that an European, an Englishman, had arrived at Ujiji. Mussa, a person established at Ujiji, was expecting him when I was at Ujiji.

"Transcribed by H. A. CHURCHILL.

"Zanzibar, 5th February, 1868."

Later news of Dr. Livingstone is contained in the following letter from Dr. Kirk, dated 1st March, which was also read :

"I am glad to announce that a letter has just been received from Uliamuezi, confirming the news brought three weeks ago. Livingstone had been in Ujiji in the middle of October last, where he would meet the agent in charge of stores and letters sent to him from Zanzibar. This letter reached us in fifty days. It was brought by slaves in advance; the Arabs of the caravan will be here in fifteen or twenty days hence; probably they will be bearers of Dr. Livingstone's letters from Ujiji. He has, no doubt, long ago, gone forward to Albert Nyanza. I sent him Sir Samuel Baker's map, together with an account of all I knew of the geographical problems involved; for it must be recollected that when Dr. Livingstone left England, Sir Samuel Baker's discoveries had not yet been made known. With this map in his hand, he will be able to apply himself to ascertaining the missing links in the chain of lakes. The Sultan of Johanna had been addressed on the subject of Moosa and his companions, and I trust he will take measures to have them punished, not simply for having given a false tale in their defence, and thus caused so much grief, as well as no little expense."

Sir R. MURCHISON, after the reading of the above interesting communications, said, that what the Geographical Society, and indeed the empire at large, were now interested in was the future of Livingstone. The great subject now for consideration was the probable time when

their illustrious friend would return home. (Hear, hear.) After drawing attention to the tracts of country that have been traversed by the doctor, the time that was occupied, and all the difficulties and delays incidental to the exploration of those regions, Sir Roderick went on to observe that there were three hypotheses upon which they might go in making calculations regarding the return of Dr. Livingstone. One was, that he may be induced to go farther west into an African region as yet unexplored, and come out at the West Coast. In that case, Sir Roderick did not expect that Dr. Livingstone would be home for twelve, or perhaps eighteen months. Another hypothesis was, that the doctor would be inclined, after the long and dangerous journey he has already had, and the efforts he has made in determining the real physical geography of the region through which he has touched upon, to return by Zanzibar. If the doctor returned by that route, he may be expected home in the month of September next. The third hypothesis was, that Dr. Livingstone would return by the waters of the Nile. From the well-known difficulties of that route, Sir Roderick did not think Dr. Livingstone would think of coming home by that way. (Applause.)

Sir SAMUEL BAKER said that he was never before so happy in confessing he was wrong than he was in the present instance. The great difference between Sir Roderick Murchison and himself was, that Sir Roderick was a theoretical geographer, whilst he (Sir Samuel) was a practical one, and that whilst their president had all through adhered to the belief that Dr. Livingstone was not dead, but he (Sir Samuel) believed him to be dead, but, as he had said, he was delighted to find himself mistaken. (A laugh.) He only hoped that Dr. Livingstone would rest satisfied with what he had already done, and that he would return to England as soon as possible. The question, then, was, how and where were they to receive the doctor when he returned among them. (Hear, hear.) Whenever Dr. Livingstone came, he would, at all events, be received with open arms and a hearty welcome by the people of England. For all that their esteemed friend had done in the matter, and the manner in which he had kept up their hopes, he was entitled to the warmest and best thanks of the Society and the country at large. (Loud applause.)

Sir R. MURCHISON, in acknowledging the enthusiastic manner in which his name had been received, expressed the gratification he felt in laying the letters just read before the Society, and declared that this was the happiest day of his life.

Mr. WALLER, who accompanied Dr. Livingstone on his first expedition, and Captain SHERARD OSBORNE, also addressed the assemblage, and joined in the general congratulations on the safety of the great explorer. The latter gentleman was inclined to think that before coming home Dr. Livingstone would go north, and endeavour to get home by means of the Nile.

Sir R. MURCHISON wound up the discussion by saying, that all Dr. Livingstone's friends might live in the hope of seeing him once more among them at no distant period.

# The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

FRIDAY, MAY 1, 1868.

## NOTICE TO FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

OUR subscribers are respectfully informed that their Annual Contributions to the funds of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* fell due on the 1st of January. All subscribers to the amount of Ten Shillings annually are entitled to receive, post-free, a copy of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, and of any tract or pamphlet issued by the Society. To non-subscribers, the *Reporter* is sent on payment of Four Shillings in advance, commencing on the 1st of January. Payments should be made to John Ransley, either in stamps or by Post-office Order, made payable at the Post-office, New Broad Street, E.C., London.

## THE SLAVE-TRADE.

WE shall have some remarks to make upon the series of despatches relating to the slave-trade, which we now subjoin. Our present number is, however, already overcrowded, and we feel it absolutely necessary to defer our comments to a future day. Our immediate purpose is to give our readers the earliest information possible on a subject of so much interest, and it may be as well for us to summarize the contents of the Parliamentary Papers now before us.

Up to the last two years the most important of these usually related to Cuba. We had been accustomed to believe that if the traffic to Cuba could be shown to have ceased, it might reasonably be considered to be at an end; but so true is it, that so long as Slavery itself exists, the trade will not die out, that we find it actually acquiring enormous proportions in the East whilst it has in fact been almost wholly extinguished in the West. This will be seen from a perusal of the despatches we shall proceed to submit.

The first of these is the annual report of Mr. Crawford, Acting Commissary Judge at Havana. There had been no importations recorded to the 30th September 1866, and none are reported to the same date 1867. Much, we submit, it is to be deplored, that in the last paragraph but six, Mr. Crawford should indulge in comments upon the results of emancipation, which do not admit of proof, and which, under

these circumstances, are extremely mischievous, because they clothe with authority statements calculated to impede the solution of the great question in the Spanish Antilles.

Havana, September 30, 1867.

My Lord,—The annual report upon the slave-trade between the Coast of Africa and the Island of Cuba for twelve months ending this day, has this remarkable feature, that it is unaccompanied by any statement of landings of slaves. It would, however, be very unsafe to assert that the slave-trade has ceased, or that no negroes have been brought here from Africa during that period, for although authentic information may not have been received by us to the contrary, it is nevertheless an admitted fact, that at least one cargo made its appearance off this island in May last, and it was even reported to have been landed at La Esperanza, in the *Vuelta de Abajo*, but in the absence of positive and undeniable testimony, it is only just to accept the assurance of the Spanish authorities that that report was untrue. It is, however, quite inadmissible to suppose, as they would have it appear, that the slave-vessel alluded to was obliged to abandon these shores in search of another market, and there remains the moral conviction that, if not at La Esperanza, she managed to discharge her miserable cargo at some other place in this island.

The slave-traders, it is said, expected a change of Governors here in May or June last, and it was reported that fresh impetus had been given to their detestable commerce by the hope that a new Captain-General, who was favourable to their interests, would be appointed.

Rumours got afloat of slave-vessels, fitted out in Europe, being on their way here, and of extensive arrangements for the running of their living freights, and this, no doubt, induced the Captain-General Manzano to issue his famous Decree of the 6th of June, which must have at once damped the ardour of these traffickers in human flesh, for that Decree, if faithfully observed, renders the continuance of the slave-trade here impossible.

Several cargoes of African negroes were, indeed, reported to have been landed about that time at different places in Cuba, but in every case the evidence which I endeavoured to obtain broke down, and I have reason to believe that these reports were untrue.

Too much praise cannot be given to the late Captain-General Manzano for his unflinching zeal and great determination in the suppression of the slave-trade, and it is to be regretted that his death should have occurred just at this time.

The Penal Law, which was passed by the Spanish Cortes on the 11th July last year, was promulgated here on the 17th instant. Although it would have been, perhaps, easier for the Spanish Government to have at once declared the slave-trade piracy, the new law appears to be sufficiently explicit and severe, and what is of the first importance towards its efficacy is, that it provides for the immediate registration of the slaves.

I have the honour of transmitting herewith a translation of the late Captain-General's Decrees



on the subject, by which it is ordered that this registration is to be commenced on the 1st of October, and as a preliminary step, all free-coloured persons are directed to provide themselves, previous to that date, with schedules in the manner determined by General Concha in 1858.

Some persons seem to think that it is impossible to obtain an accurate register of the slaves and coloured population, but I do not apprehend that there will be any difficulty in doing so, apart from the great amount of labour which such an undertaking must naturally entail.

Public opinion in this island has undergone a great change within the last three years, and the feeling as to the absolute necessity of putting an end to the slave-trade is now almost general. It is needless to analyze the causes which may have brought about this change, but unfortunately it cannot be attributed to the advance of civilization, or to the nobler feelings of philanthropy.

The great and vital question which now engages general attention, and which obscures the political and social horizon of the future of Cuba, is that of an adequate supply of labour.

That Slavery is doomed, and that it must be abolished at no distant day, everybody is convinced. But in what manner emancipation is to be carried out here, so as to avoid the evils by which it has been accompanied in other countries, and to guard against the ruin of the island, is a matter regarding which there appears to be much diversity of opinion. All, however, agree that it should be done very gradually, and that ample time should be allowed to prepare for such a vital change in the domestic institution of the country. The majority of the planters and other slaveholders would, no doubt, willingly subscribe to any equitable arrangement, such as the freedom of all negroes born after a given date, and the total emancipation of the slaves at the expiration of twenty years, or even a shorter period.

The immediate effect of the uncertainty attending this dreaded question has been a heavy depreciation in the value of all slave property. A good field negro who was worth 1200 dollars only a few years ago, would not at present fetch over 700 dollars, and all other classes have suffered in the same proportion.

The natural indolence of the negro, his savage tendencies, and his total want of morality and order, render him unfit for absolute liberty; and it is to be sincerely hoped that no mistaken ideas of philanthropy or political exigencies will lead to a violent or premature solution of this difficult question, but that whenever emancipation does take place here, it may be attended by proper regulations, which will organize the labour of the freedmen, and exclude them from interference in the Government, or from trampling upon the white population.

The numerous examples which surround Cuba, of the results of emancipation in the various islands in the West Indies and in the United States, teach a lesson which should not be thrown away upon the Spanish Government, and it would be well for those whose extreme prejudices lead them to clamour for the abolition of Slavery here, without devising the means of judiciously effecting it, to study the prospects of the African

race, and the phases of negro character, in the several conditions of liberty and independence which the history of modern times presents to us, whether in Africa proper, in Liberia, in Hayti, in the British colonies, or in the United States of North America.

Negro labour here cannot be superseded by either European or American emigration, and the general idea prevails that this deficiency must be made up by the importation of coolies from China. Nearly 100,000 of these colonists have been already brought into Cuba since the first arrivals in 1846, and the trade is now being prosecuted most vigorously.

A great many of those first imported have died, and it is reckoned that there are at present not over from 50,000 to 60,000 Chinese in Cuba.

The emigration has this great defect, that no women are imported, and it is impossible to succeed in replacing the negro slave, unless that emigration is properly encouraged and organized by inducing the Chinese colonists to bring their wives and families.

I enclose herewith a translation of a small pamphlet which has been lent to me, in manuscript, by an intelligent planter, on the subject of the question of labour in this island.

The reports from Brazil are of the same tenour as those of past years. The trade is extinct.

But we pass now to the East. The Commissioner at the Cape of Good Hope adverts in somewhat general terms to the continuance of the traffic on this coast, and we give his report the first place. The supplement, however, to it will be found in the dispatch of Mr. Churchill which immediately follows it, and contains the latest proposition of the Sultan of Zanzibar referred to by Lord Stanley in his reply to Sir T. F. Buxton, as recorded in our summary.

(Extract.)

Cape Town, October 1, 1867.

In laying before your lordship my report upon the slave-trade on the East Coast of Africa during the year ending the 30th of September, I have the honour to acquaint you that, from all I can gather, I have great hopes that the slave-trade, formerly so rife, is, or some portion thereof, rapidly approaching extinction.

By the kindness of Commodore Purvis, I have been supplied with the information acquired by the officers commanding Her Majesty's cruisers; and this goes to show that to the southward—that is, within the limits of this naval command—the nefarious traffic has apparently ceased, though to the northward, particularly on the north coast of Madagascar, it is still carried on.

I believe few, if any, European vessels now find it worth their while to risk capture by visiting the East Coast, and running the gauntlet of our cruisers for so long a voyage. What slave trade is carried on is performed by small native vessels, chiefly to supply the Arab markets. This happy result has, no doubt, been caused by the vigilance of our naval officers, and

the closing of some of the marts to which the slaves were usually taken. The dhow traffic will, I fear, continue as long as the Arab is the dominant race on the coast, and other Oriental nations maintain their peculiar views, and their marts are kept open.

The new Governor-General of the Portuguese Settlements on the East Coast, his Excellency Senhor Correia de Lacerda, has recently been staying in Cape Town, awaiting a ship to convey him to his destination. I deem myself fortunate in having had a long and interesting conversation with him upon the subject of the suppression of the slave-trade, and was gratified to find that his Excellency held most liberal views upon the question. He assured me of his earnest wish to keep down the traffic, and to replace it with legitimate trade and agricultural pursuits. Finding that I had visited the whole of the East Coast from 1 deg. south of the line, and had passed some years in Ceylon, and been a witness of tropical agriculture, he entered warmly upon the subject of products fitted for cultivation on the East Coast; and concluded by observing that if profitable sources of agriculture could be found, the slave-trade would never revive.

I believe that in his Excellency we shall have a powerful auxiliary in the suppression of the traffic, and I cordially agree with him in the views he expressed. I am convinced that if the ports on the East Coast were thrown open, and protection to life and property guaranteed, population and agriculture would increase in spite of the unhealthiness of some parts of the country, and the traffic in human flesh cease for ever.

In consequence of the slave-trade being now confined to the Indian command, no dhow cases have been brought for adjudication before the Vice-Admiralty Court in this colony during the past year.

I regret to say that from occasional notices in the public journals, I fear the slave-trade, alluded to by my late colleague in his report of the 1st of October last as existing in the Transvaal Republic, still continues.

But while rejoicing at this diminution of the slave-trade on the East Coast, I feel that it is mainly due, not to a sense of its moral turpitude on the part of the inhabitants, but to the exertions of our naval force; and that were its vigilance abated the traffic would again spring up, and European vessels once more take part in it.

Some few years since I visited the whole of the South-east Coast, Madagascar, and the other islands not being at that time connected with this commission or the navy), and I found that neither Europeans nor natives cared to disguise their sentiments before me; and I learnt enough to convince me that Slavery was looked upon as a natural and necessary state of life, and few saw any evil in engaging in it. Indeed, domestic servitude, in our acceptance of the term, was a thing unknown, either in the house or in the field; and I believe that if our cruisers were withdrawn, the slave-trade would again revive.

What development the horrible traffic has acquired upon the East Coast, is to be judged of by the following dispatch, already referred to, as furnishing the supplement

to the report of the Cape Commissioner. It fully corroborates the information which has formed the subject of the memorials to Lord Stanley from the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* and the Paris Anti-Slavery Conference. The further limitation of the places within which the Sultan is still permitted to import slaves, may be calculated to check the trade, but our decided view is that even to confine it within those limits is certainly to sanction it beyond them, and we regret that a more radical measure was not adopted.

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, August 14, 1867.

In coming to Zanzibar, I was aware that the question paramount in importance, and the one that was most likely to occupy my serious attention, would be the suppression of the slave-trade.

On taking charge of my new post I consequently made a point of reading up all that had been written by and to my predecessors on this important subject; and it became patent to me that whatever may have been, or may still be, the reasons for making an exception in favour of Sultan Majid to the rule adopted with reference to the slave-trade, sooner or later measures would be taken on this coast, as elsewhere, for the effectual suppression of this nefarious traffic; and my attention was particularly arrested by a paragraph contained in Earl Russell's despatch to Colonel Playfair of the 14th of March, 1864, which I shall beg leave here to quote.

Referring to the prohibition of the transport of slaves from port to port in Seyd Majid's dominions, Earl Russell says:—"If these measures are carried out in good faith by the Sultan and his authorities, you need not for the present insist on His Highness entering into a treaty engagement with Her Majesty's Government to prohibit the transport of slaves coastwise from one portion of his dominions to another; but you will not lose sight of this subject, and you will, should an opportunity offer, endeavour to induce His Highness to embody this concession in the existing treaty for the suppression of the slave-trade."

Earl Russell, further on, adds:—"The object which Her Majesty's Government had in view in instructing Colonel Pelly to propose this measure to the Sultan was, to put a stop to the export of slaves by the Northern Arabs;" and, further, "that Her Majesty's Government do not claim the right to interfere in the status of domestic Slavery in Zanzibar."

Now, when Colonel Pelly was instructed to insist, with Seyd Majid, on prohibiting the transport of slaves coastwise in the Sultan's dominions, it was well known that from 20,000 to 30,000 slaves were annually being imported into the Island of Zanzibar, and that this number by far exceeded the agricultural requirements of the island. On the other hand, when, at a later period, the Sultan prohibited the transport of slaves in his dominions between the 1st of January and the 30th of April—although the Sultan may have been in earnest in believing



that effectual measures had been adopted to put a stop to the slave-traffic with the North within his dominions—his good intentions were utterly frustrated by the adoption of different tactics by those engaged in the slave-trade; for instead of purchasing, as before, slaves at Zanzibar, some went direct to Kilwa, and exported them thence direct to the coast of Arabia; while others—and, I am sorry to say, many of the Sultan's own subjects—collected their slaves at Lamoo, to the North, or on the Island of Pemba, during the privileged season, to ship them off for Arabia when an opportunity offered, taking their chance of being arrested in their enterprise by the few cruisers on the station. Thus, although the Sultan's concession was one of peculiar importance at first, it became in the course of time completely nugatory. Thence it became evident that the time had come for Earl Russell's instructions to be pressed on the Sultan for his acceptance.

The relations between His Highness and Her Majesty's Agency, thanks to the tact and amiable disposition of Dr. Seward, were of the best.

In my conversations with the Sultan, and with his Chief Secretary, Sheikh Suliman, I made a point of making His Highness understand the necessity of proving to Her Majesty's Government his earnestness to co-operate with us, and I did not fail to make him see that, sooner or later, the transport of slaves coastwise would have to be prohibited.

I told His Highness that Her Majesty's Government did not claim the right of interference in the status of domestic Slavery in his dominions, but that if domestic Slavery was his sole object, I looked upon the liberty his subjects enjoyed in virtue of treaty, of carrying slaves from one end of his dominions on the coast of the other, as totally incommensurate with the object in view, inasmuch as his subjects could procure enough slaves from the coast opposite Zanzibar to supply the agricultural wants of the island, and therefore, if he was sincere in his assurances of friendship and fellow-feeling with us, he could not refuse to reduce the limits within which the transport of Slavery for domestic purposes would be permitted, and I pointed out to him on the map Ras ya Dege, in south latitude 7 degrees, as the southern, and Membas, in latitude 4 degrees, as the northern limit, between which points he might have the privilege of transporting slaves without interference, provided he agreed to abandon the rest.

His Highness did not appear surprised at the magnitude of my demand, comprising, as it does, three-fifths of his sea-board. He appeared to have been quite prepared for this demand, and he promised to assemble his Court Council, and bring his reply in person to Her Majesty's Consulate in two days.

On the day appointed the Sultan came, and taking me apart with his Secretary expressed himself thus:—

"What you have asked on the part of Her Majesty's Government is no small concession; it is more than we ever expected to be called upon to concede, and we therefore had to consult our Council of Chiefs of the tribes on the subject. When your propositions were laid before them they were surprised, and pointed out the detri-

ment that such a measure would give rise to, as well to the public treasury as in other respects which it would be too long to enumerate. But they all admitted that the English Government must be satisfied, and we therefore accept your proposition, but will do so on one condition, which will only cost the British Government one word." His Highness went on to say, "My brother Seyd Theweynee has, as you are aware, been foully murdered by his own son, who is now on the throne of Muscat. I only ask of the English Government to permit me to proceed to Oman to seek my brother's blood at the hands of Salim, his murderer. If this be too much, and it be decided, contrary to our holy law, that Seyd Salim shall reign in peace in his father's kingdom, then all that we solicit of Her Majesty's Government is that we hear nothing more of Salim, the murderer, or of his claims."

I replied to his Highness, that with regard to his request to be allowed to avenge the murder of his brother Theweynee, apart from the consideration that in asking for the blood of Salim, he might be suspected of wishing to profit by his own brother's murder, I ventured to think that His Highness' vengeance, in comparison with the punishment that God could award the murderer, if he so pleased, would be very small. That already Salim, from the accounts I had received, was feeling the effects of remorse; that he could neither eat nor sleep in peace, fancying he sees his father's ghost in everything that surrounds him; that already his people are against him, and Seyd Turkee at the gates of Muscat.

For precision's sake I have caused the Sultan's declaration to be put down in writing, and I have the honour to transmit it herewith inclosed, in translation, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council.

The importance of the Sultan's concession his Excellency will readily appreciate when I repeat Captain Pasley's words, that it is the most complete check to the slave-trade that will have been effected since Her Majesty's Government commenced to suppress it. I beg leave to inclose a copy of Captain Pasley's letter to me on this subject.

It now, indeed, as the senior officer on the station says, remains for Her Majesty's Government to follow up the blow so hardly dealt to the slave-trade, to annihilate it altogether; and I venture to say, that it will cost less in men and money, to do it effectually, than to attempt to do it by inadequate means as before.

That the Slave-trade, wherever it exists, is the source of the most abominable cruelties, apart from the great original one of stealing the victims, every one is prepared to admit. The traffic in the region of the White Nile presents these cruel features in what we would fain hope to be, but which we believe is not, an exaggerated degree. Thus writes Acting-Consul General Reade to Lord Stanley, from Alexandria, on the 9th August, 1867:—

Alexandria, August 9, 1867.

My Lord,—A false impression appears to have obtained currency that subjects of European Christian Powers residing in Upper Egypt are

either directly or indirectly engaged in the slave-trade, and that, in point of fact, they are the real or principal promoters of the illegal traffic.

It would not be difficult, my Lord, by reference to the smallness and composition of the European community\* in the Soudan, the jealousy with which all their proceedings are watched by the local authorities, the restrictions that are arbitrarily imposed on their trade, the limited profits, overwhelming competition, and enormous risks that would certainly attend any slave-dealing operation on their part, and a variety of other circumstances, to show that there can be at the present moment but little foundation for such an aspersion on the European character. It may be that in former years, when Europeans established themselves in Upper Egypt for purposes of trade, the want of any other description of servant impelled them to select from the black population, and perhaps forcibly capture or buy the number of attendants or followers they required; but these were ever regarded by their new masters as free people from the moment of their entry into service, and paid, like other domestics, regular wages. It is very doubtful whether, except for the purpose of forming establishments of this description, Europeans were ever directly engaged in the slave trade. Some exceptions there may, nevertheless, have been, and if so, they were, to say the least, of very rare occurrence.

It is, however, on the other hand, a matter of public notoriety that from 10,000 to 15,000 slaves are annually brought down the Nile to Cairo, while an equal or even greater number find their way to Souakin and the Red Sea. The principal dealers are well known, and allowed by the local authorities to pursue unmolested their abominable traffic. True it is that some of these delinquents are occasionally arrested and their property confiscated, and sometimes a few slaves are even set at liberty; but the great bulk of the trade is tacitly sanctioned, if not actually connived at, by the authorities themselves. At Galabat, on the Abyssinian frontier, an enormous slave-mart is constantly open.

Two hundred Nile boats employed regularly in this trade are permitted to navigate with impunity, upon payment, for every voyage they make, of a certain tribute to the local authorities, whilst a similar import is levied upon every slave caravan that passes along the desert route of Korusco.

Although I have long been aware, my Lord, that slaves in large quantities were sold daily at Cairo, I was anxious to satisfy myself of the fact by personal observation. I accordingly visited, some days ago, a number of the slave markets, disguised as an Arab, no European being allowed ingress to these establishments. Many of these slaves had been removed to the town of Tantah, for the purpose of being sold at the approaching

fair there, and I consequently saw only between 250 and 300. From the information, however, which I was able to pick up, I am inclined to think that but for the above-stated removal of slaves to Tantah, there would be at the present time not less than 3000 of these unfortunate creatures on sale at Cairo. I took a note of the several localities I inspected, as well as of some others which I had not time to visit; but before making any formal representation on the subject to the Egyptian Government, I determined upon ascertaining in the same manner the state of things at Tantah. Habited in my former disguise, I, a day or two afterwards, that is to say, on the 5th instant, carefully inspected the principal establishments of the fair. Between 500 and 600 slaves of every description were presented to me, but I have reason to believe that the total number on sale were from 1500 to 2000.

On my return from the fair, I called on the Mudir, or Governor of the Province, informed him of what I had done and seen, and called upon him to set the slaves at liberty. He promised to take possession of the slaves in the night time, and forward them to Cairo on the following day, to be liberated or otherwise dealt with by the authorities of that city. I regret to learn, however, that this assurance was not carried into effect, and fear that the Mudir, who is an intelligent, energetic, and straightforward man, must have been prevented from fulfilling his engagement be orders from a higher authority. I have since addressed to Cherif Pasha a despatch upon the subject, and I beg to enclose, for your Lordship's information, a copy of that communication. As soon as I receive his Excellency's reply, I shall not fail to forward also a copy of it to your Lordship.

If, my Lord, the Egyptian Government were sincerely desirous of checking the progress of so great an evil, a good opportunity is now offered to it for inflicting a severe blow upon the slave-trade in this part of the world. I must confess, however, I am far from sanguine that much can be expected from that Government of its own volition, and for several reasons, amongst which I may enumerate—first, that important persons and functionaries of the Government derive considerable profit and advantage from the trade, either directly or indirectly; directly, because their palaces, houses, and estates are supplied with slave-labour; indirectly, because, inasmuch as the trade is ostensibly a forbidden one, they are enabled to levy on the dealers heavy toll for permission to evade the law. Secondly, that the army of Egypt is largely recruited from the male black adult slaves; and, thirdly, that the fellahs, or farmer population, are glad to have the means of sending, as substitutes for themselves and children, when summoned by the Government to forced labour, slaves bought at these marts.

It is often alleged, and with considerable truth, that the condition of the slave in Egypt stands in favourable contrast with that which exists in other slave countries; but I have reason to believe, from sources other than those with which the public is generally familiar, that the cruelties and abominations perpetrated by the dealers and their agents, who supply the Egyptian market, are not less atrocious than those ever committed by slave-traders in any part of the world.

\* The community consists of two French merchants, the Austrian and French Consular Agents at Khartoum, and half-a-dozen German, French, or Italian missionaries and their servants. Mr. Debono, a British ivory merchant, long established in the Soudan, has left the country, in consequence of the depressed state of trade.—T. F. R.



This statement is supplemented by a terrible narrative, sent on the 28th Nov. ult., by Mr. Robert Arthington, of Leeds, to Lord Stanley. Few will read it without shuddering.

*A few Notices on the White Nile, and Slave-trading in the Egyptian Soudan and the rest of Europe.*

Turingen, November 4, 1867.

Neither the writer of this (who was a member of the mercantile establishment of Mr. Spittler, and connected with his Missionary station in Khartoum) nor any one of the Missionary brethren have ever found occasion yet to fix his abode for some time in those upper regions of the White Nile, which for many years offered equally bright chances to the adventurer, the hunter of elephants, buffaloes, &c., the gain-seeking merchant, and the faithful Missionary; he therefore relies in his account on trustworthy eye-witnesses, who partly were trading in ivory, being merchants settled for this purpose in Khartoum, partly members of the Roman Catholic Mission (Austrian, which had founded there the two stations of the Holy Cross and Gondokorro), or trustworthy men, who first were serving either of the former, and afterwards became connected with us.

We had settled in Khartoum in August, 1865, whilst slave-trading had been severely prohibited by Musa Pasha, Governor of the Egypt-Soudan, about a year ago. But Musa Pasha having died in January, 1865, we remarked that slave-trading revived, or at least was going on secretly, and we then concluded that the Mahometans scarcely ever will effect an entire abolishment of slave-trading, though they punish those that are caught in the very fact.

Khartoum, a village of only a few cottages about forty years ago, from the time of the subjugation of Nubia (the Egyptian-Soudan), Senaar, and Kordofan, by Mahomet Ali, rapidly rose to a town of about 50,000 or 60,000 souls, favoured by its situation on the junction of the two Niles, the central point of all mercantile operations up to the Equator, to Kordofan, to Senaar, and Abyssinia.

About twenty years ago, some Europeans, a few Syrians and Copts, and several Mahometan merchants, commenced exploring the White Nile, hunting elephants, and exchanging ready waiting teeth from the negroes for beads and other small objects exciting the curiosity of men and women.

They provided vessels with the necessary crew (about fifty or sixty armed men), provisions, victuals, powder, and goods, and went upwards the White Nile, making often 15 degrees of latitude. Only one expedition could be made every twelve months, on account of the immense distances and the regular north winds blowing from November to March, the southern winds blowing in July, August, September.

By-and-bye these proprietors of the expeditions settled in some country favourable to their purchases or to elephant hunting, built cottages (tokuls, round huts made of branches for their men, and surrounded them by seribas (high thickets of briars and thorns), to protect them from attacks of the negroes and wild beasts. Here they deposited a stock of provisions and

goods sufficient for one or two years, and left a party of their men with the instruction to trade and collect as much ivory as possible, which was to be fetched by a next expedition.

There were about fifteen such settlements or "stabilimenti" on the White Nile at the prosperous epochs, and often twenty to thirty vessels leaving Khartoum in November.

This kind of honest traffic went on for many years without great difficulties, the soldiers hunting and trading, and making friends with the negroes, sometimes protecting them against the neighbouring tribes, sometimes robbing them; but soon it was to turn out into slaughter, robbery, and slave-hunting.

The left (west) of the White Nile up to the mouth of the River Ghazal is occupied by the tribes of the Baggara, Shilluk, and Nouair (Nuer), the right or east part by the Denka.

The River Ghazala is occupied by the Baggara Hummur, the Djur, Dor, and Njam-Njam.

The River Sovat, by tribes of the Denka, Nuer, Bondjak, and Djuba.

The White Nile itself, which from the mouth of the Ghazal upwards is also called "Kyr," is occupied by the Nuer Gower; farther eastwards, by the Rich, Neroria, Elouadj, Tonidj, Bor; towards the west, by the Eiliab, Kitch, Rel, Tonidj, Djerouil, Djak, Rek. Those latter are all Denka by origin.

All these tribes have their own chiefs, and are often in war with each other when difficulties arise about the territory. The captives they make are kept in slavery, but sometimes exchanged afterwards.

As above mentioned, these Dongolawi (the soldiers of the "stabilimenti," who mostly belonged to the population of Dongola and Berber) would not resist to so ready an occasion to make slaves, either for their own use or for making money, dreading no means to catch their victims, by robbery or murder, open attack or sly treachery.

Even the masters of these Dongolawi, if they had not given proofs of a lion's intrepidity, once in those regions of anarchy, deprived of all justice, had scarcely any influence over their men, and were obliged to keep silence in presence of the most cruel atrocities, if they would not lose their lives. I have known two cases, where entirely honest men, trying expeditions on the White Nile with the firm purpose to procure ivory only by trading, and who, opposing themselves to the immoral and atrocious acts of their men, were beaten and ill-treated in every way; their expeditions failed entirely because their men did all the contrary of their orders. One, Muallim Theodoros, a Copt, lately living in Berber, related to me that they had treated him as insane, bound him, and led him captive for months amongst derisions and the most shameful treating, whilst they made their own traffic murder, robbery, and slave-hunting. This honest man was obliged to see his vessel crowded with slaves, got scarcely any ivory, came back to Khartoum by God's providence, and when he looked out for justice was laughed at, for they all witnessed against him; so he was glad to escape with the expenses of the expedition, and the consolation that he was in his right mind.

Thus the enticing prospect of gain and riches

armed and produced every year new expeditions for ivory.

It is a fact, too, that most of the soldiers received a very small payment for their services, and often only provisions instead of it, and promises of a few slaves. The masters of the expeditions in general received only the ivory, but a few of them, and especially Mahometan, have been stained with blood and guilt as well as their men.

By degrees, also, the negroes got provided with beads, and pursued this kind of traffic: some of them, being without cattle, declared that they would no more exchange their ivory but for cows.

Now, what was to be done to get such quantities of cows but to plunder and rob one tribe, and to sell their property to others? This was for the last ten years the principal means to get ivory on the White Nile, with the exception of a few Europeans, who used to get their stock by hunting, but in many respects were obliged to keep company with the other merchants.

The tribes which suffer most from these cruelties are the numerous ones of the Denka, who generally live on cattle. Their villages, though sometimes many days' journey from the river, are suddenly attacked by the so-called Turks (Dongolawi); their huts burned; men and women, not being able to escape, butchered; the children made slaves; and their cattle, which often amounts to several thousand pieces, driven away. Acts of the most terrible cruelty are committed on such occasions. I was told by a servant in Khartoum that he saw with his own eyes one of his fellow-soldiers rush on a negro, open his belly with a knife, taking out his liver and feeding on it, the spume running from his lips. They are as if possessed with rage and hatred. An Italian gentleman, Signor Paggia, told me that he once found a group who had hanged a mother of two children on a tree, her feet upwards, cut slices from her, and made the children eat their mother's flesh.

There are a great many acts of the kind which seem incredible, but have been ascertained to me by different disinterested or penitent witnesses.

Of course, the negroes by turns have become deadly enemies to their white invaders, or to any vessel coming up the White River. These, obliged to stop, will not go on shore, but cast anchor in the middle of the stream, nor go on their expeditions alone, but at least in companies of three or four, up to twelve, vessels. The negroes assemble often by thousands to rescue their captive children and their cattle, and many a slave-hunter has there paid with his life, or had a narrow escape. The shores of the White Nile are now waste for many hundreds of miles, as well as both shores of the Sobat river; and the ways for Missions, as well as for honest commerce, have been closed for a long time. All Europeans, with one exception, have by-and-bye retired from the traffic of the White Nile, and even the two stations of the Roman Catholic Mission, which has been founded with immense sacrifices both of men and means, were obliged to leave, alternately attacked and ruined by the slave-hunters and the negroes.

Almost all the "stabilimenti" on the White Nile up to the Equator, and on the Ghazal river up to the Njam-Njam, are now in the hands of

one Mahometan merchant, named Agâth, who brought immense quantities of ivory from his settlements in the year 1866, and who is said to be an agent of the Egyptian Government.

I have found during my stay in Khartoum, as well as in different travels up and down the Nile, that slave-trading has always been going on, some on secret ways, some in the open road of the Government. On our way to Cairo we encountered a vessel with more than forty children, on the Nile, near Esneh, and lost sight of it near Siut: we were often, on occasion of contrary wind, together with them in one place for days. On another occasion I met with a transport of slaves in the desert, between Khartoum and Berber.

Slave-trading is equally going on in Kordofan and Teggele, and on a large scale in Galabât (neutral territory between Sennar and Abyssinia), where thousands of poor little Gallas are sold and smuggled through the Egyptian territory, or transported by the Red Sea.

This traffic is only in the hands of Mahometans, who are wise enough to declare them to be free, buying of an Egyptian Kady tickets of liberty corresponding to the number of the slaves; they pass to Jedda, where they only pay a tax in the custom-house, and go on their way as easy as possible.

As we heard by some gentlemen in Siut, there arrived about 2000 slaves from Dartûr, who all found masters in Egypt or the Turkish dominions.

Though we must confess that many slaves in Egypt and Turkey are not at all badly off, but loved and well kept by their masters, and that they are surely better cared for than in their own country, we can never approve slave-trading, looking on the immense misery and horrors that flow from its source, the slave-hunting.

Very little can be hoped at present of the White Nile, at least for Missionary attempts, if there is not another way found out, perhaps after a favourable result of the expedition to Abyssinia.

Last year a vessel of a Khartoum merchant, a Copt, named "Ghattâs," was burned by the negroes, and the whole of the crew murdered. The latest news tell us, again, of two vessels of another Copt, named "Shunuda," the crews of which perished, as well as the son of the named merchant. The negroes, especially the Shilbuk, are determined to defend their home and property, or to die in their vengeance.

I recommend you, dear Sir, in general matters of the White Nile, and especially about elephant hunting, the book of M Jules Poncet Société de Géographie, Paris, Arthur Bertrand, Editeur, 21, Rue Hautefeuille, who is trustworthy in his relations; and at the same time would encourage you to address the French Consular Agent in Berber, M. Lafagrué, who himself was trading on the White Nile about ten years ago, but left it when it was impossible to go on without murder and robbery. He is a man of immense experience, and a most acute judge of the nature and moral qualities of the negroes, and promised me, when we passed Berber last May, readily to answer any questions made on the subject.

I remain, &c.,

(Signed) F. SAULTER



## NEW SLAVERY IN QUEENSLAND.

IN our last we gave the text of the memorial of the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, to the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, on the subject of the illegal introduction into Queensland, of natives of the South Sea Islands. We subjoin the text of the correspondence which has since taken place.

## REPLY.

Downing-street,  
23d March, 1868.

Gentlemen,—I am directed by the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th inst., on the subject of the introduction of natives of the South Sea Islands into Queensland.

I am desired to request that you will favour His Grace with the authorities on which the statements to which you refer respecting the treatment of the natives are founded.

I am,

Gentlemen,

Your obt. servant,

(Signed) FREDERICK ROGERS.

Alfred Bennett, Esq.,

L. A. Chamerovzow, Esq.

## THE SECRETARY TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

27, New Broad Street, E.C.,  
27th March, 1868.

My Lord Duke,—In accordance with your Grace's request, conveyed in the communication from Sir Frederick Rogers, dated the 23d current, to be furnished with the authorities upon which are founded the statements respecting the treatment of South Sea Islanders in Queensland, set forth in the Memorial to your Grace from the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, I have the honour to refer your Grace to the annexed schedule, and to remain, &c.,

My Lord Duke,

Your Grace's obedt. servant,

(Signed) L. A. CHAMEROVZOW,  
Secretary.

## SCHEDULE.—I.

1867.

## QUEENSLAND.—LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

## Introduction of South Sea Islanders into Queensland.

Return to an Address of the Honourable the Legislative Assembly of Queensland, dated September 26th, 1867, praying that His Excellency the Governor will be pleased to cause to be laid upon the table of this House—

"Copy of all despatches and correspondence  
"in connection with the introduction of  
"South Sea Islanders into this colony."

(DR. CHALLINOR.)

II.  
1867.

## QUEENSLAND.—LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

## Trade between Queensland and South Sea Islands.

Return to an Order made by the Honourable the Legislative Assembly of Queensland, dated 9th October, 1867, That there be laid upon the table of this House a Return, showing—

- (1.) "The number, names, and registered  
"tonnage of all vessels engaged in trading  
"between the several ports of this colony  
"and the South Sea Islands, from De-  
"cember 10th, 1859, to the present  
"time.
- (2.) "The names of the owners, masters,  
"and consignees of said vessels; also, the  
"names of the persons by whom the same  
"were chartered.
- (3.) "The date of arrival and departure of  
"each vessel respectively, and the entries  
"of the cargo inwards and outwards.
- (4.) "The number of South Sea Islanders  
"brought by each vessel; the names of  
"the persons by whom they were brought;  
"and of those to whom they were con-  
"signed; also, the date of their arrival.
- (5.) "The number of South Sea Islanders  
"who have been returned to their homes  
"in said vessels; the date of their de-  
"parture; and the names of the persons  
"in whose charge they were sent.
- (6.) "A copy of the Government Regula-  
"tions under which this immigration has  
"been conducted."

(DR. CHALLINOR.)

## III.

QUEENSLAND.—ANNO TRICESIMO PRIMO  
VICTORIÆ REGINÆ.

## No.

A Bill to regulate and control the introduction  
and treatment of Polynesian labourers.

## THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM'S REPLY.

Downing Street, 27th April, 1868.

Sir,—I am directed by the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th ultimo, enclosing a schedule, shewing the authorities upon which the previous statements of the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* were founded, respecting the importation of labourers into Queensland from the South Sea Islands.

I am desired by His Grace to request that the Society will furnish him with such proofs as they possess of the 3d and 8th statements made in your communication of the 13th ultimo, namely, that "considerable numbers" of these islanders had "been kidnapped and forcibly brought into the colony," and "that persons occupying responsible public positions are engaged also in the traffic."

It will obviously occur to you that these statements, and the facts alleged in support of them, should be authenticated by the names of the persons who make themselves responsible for their truth.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) FREDERICK ROGERS.

THE SECRETARY TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

27, New Broad Street, E.C.,  
29th April, 1868.

My Lord Duke,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of Sir Frederick Rogers' letter of the 27th current, in reply to my communication of the 27th ultimo, on behalf of the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, on the subject of the illegal introduction into Queensland of natives of the South Sea Islands.

In answer to your Grace's request to be furnished with such proofs as the Committee possess of the third and eighth statements in the Committee's communication of the 13th ultimo, namely,—“That considerable numbers of these Islanders had been kidnapped and forcibly brought into the colony, and that persons occupying responsible public positions are engaged also in this traffic.” I beg to refer your Grace to Nos. 2 and 3 of document No. 1 of the schedule inclosed in the letter aforesaid of the 27th ultimo.

It would appear, from the papers already referred to, and others in the possession of the Committee, that the subject of the introduction of South Sea Islanders into Queensland was already under the notice of the Legislative Assembly of that colony in 1863. The Committee, therefore, were under the impression that the whole circumstances of the case were known to Her Majesty's Government, especially as they are of great notoriety in the colony; and, moreover, have recently been made the subject of a petition to Her Majesty, which would, of course, be transmitted through His Excellency the Governor, to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies for the time being. A printed copy of this petition is enclosed.

Your Grace will observe that some of the members of the Colonial Legislature, including the Premier himself, the Hon. R. R. Mackenzie, are personally implicated as active promoters of this new slave-trade. This statement has been made openly in public meetings, held at Brisbane, has been published in the local papers, and has not been contradicted.

Irrespective, however, of the parties who are actually engaged in these nefarious proceedings, the Committee respectfully submit that the system itself is utterly indefensible, and is carried on in violation of the principles which regulate the emigration of coolies from India to other British possessions. In the latter instance, a kind of official supervision exists, which, in a degree, guarantees the interests and personal safety of the coolie emigrant; but in the case of the South Sea Islanders there is no such supervision. The assent of the chiefs in authority to the expatriation of their countrymen does not appear to be even asked for, and the evidence of Capt. J. P. Luce, the senior naval officer of the Australian station, warrants the assertion that many of the vessels trading to the New Hebrides are manned by very lawless individuals, who have recourse to fraud and violence to obtain these so-called labourers, of whom they make a market in Queensland.

The Committee would further submit, that the system which your Grace has been requested, and seem disposed to legalize, is identical with

that called “Free African Emigration,” carried on some years ago under the sanction of the French Government, but which, on representations made by that of Her Majesty, was prohibited by the Emperor on the 30th October, 1858. The opinion of the British Government on the French *engagé* system was thus conveyed by the Right Hon. the Earl of Malmesbury, in a despatch of the 15th October 1858, addressed to Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary at Lisbon, on the subject of the seizure of the French vessel the *Charles et George*, confiscated by the Portuguese authorities at Mozambique as being engaged in the slave trade. In that despatch His Lordship says:—“You are aware that Her Majesty's Government have never altered their opinion as to the analogous nature of the French scheme for exporting negroes with that of the avowed slave-trade.”

Many years before, Her Majesty's Government had relinquished the scheme of obtaining so-called free labourers from Africa, for the reasons alleged in the Earl of Malmesbury's despatch, and the Committee are convinced that no regulations whatever would prevent this so-called free emigration from the South Sea Islands degenerating at once into the slave-trade. To legalize such a system of emigration, to be conducted as proposed by private individuals,—who, once beyond the boundaries of the colony, would be subject to no control,—were to license a new slave-trade on the most extensive scale. The traffic being officially sanctioned by the British Government, a free trade in Polynesians would immediately spring up, and by force or by fraud they would be carried away by thousands to Cuba, to Brazil, to the Peruvian Guano Islands, or to any other country where forced labour is in demand; and the Committee therefore hope, that your Grace will not only withhold assent to the new Bill which has recently passed the Queensland Legislature, but will absolutely prohibit the continuance of the traffic, and give instructions for the immediate restoration to their homes of the natives who have been already brought into the colony.

I have the honour, &c.

#### SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE IN QUEENSLAND.

WE give above a correspondence which will place our readers in possession of the most recent information on the subject of the new slave-trade to Queensland. We are quite at a loss to understand the request of the Colonial Minister, to be furnished with the evidence upon which certain broad statements are made in the Memorial of the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*. It is not reasonable to assume that the authorities at the Colonial Office are ignorant of a movement respecting which the late Duke of Newcastle wrote strong despatches in 1861, and the Duke of Buckingham himself communicated with Governor



Bowen as recently as the 9th November last, if not later. The newspapers of the colony, the official proceedings of the Colonial Legislature, present evidence which precludes such a supposition, and the active officer of the Colonial Department should know—if his chief do not—that this importation has been long going on, and is illegal. It appears strange, too, that whilst on the one hand, the Duke of Buckingham requests specific information on certain points, from the Committee of the *Anti-Slavery Society*, he should, on the other hand, not require similar information at the hands of the Committee of the *Aborigines' Protection Society*, but should simply inform Lord Alfred Churchill, that "the question is under consideration." What is there, we ask, to consider? Is it how the Duke of Buckingham can withdraw from the false position in which he has placed himself by his despatches to Sir F. Bowen, of the 9th Nov. last, in which his Grace comforts himself with the conviction, founded upon despatches from the Governor, conveying imperfect, therefore illusive, information—that "there seems no reason to doubt the Islanders have been treated kindly and loyally;" though it is established beyond possibility of disproof, that the majority have been most grossly deceived! The suggestions which the Colonial Minister makes in that despatch, for regulating the traffic, imply consent to it in principle; whereas it is utterly indefensible and in direct contravention of the rule which the late Duke of Newcastle laid down that no private individual could be permitted to carry on such a trade. It is like legalizing the slave-trade; like consenting that human beings may be conveyed—however obtained—to foreign parts, to serve as labourers, provided only certain regulations—certain to be disregarded—be observed. No legislation could make the slave-trade humane; none can render so this traffic in South Sea Islanders:

Mr. Short—who has done so much to bring this question home to the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause—directly charges the Premier of the colony, and other members of the local government, with being directly concerned in this nefarious transaction. The Act of the Queensland Legislature, to regulate the recruitment of these Islanders in their own homes, is illegal in principle, because it deals with a matter which is wholly beyond its jurisdiction. To begin at the beginning, there is no treaty, nor convention, nor undertaking with the chiefs or superior authorities in the South Sea Islands, permitting the transportation of the natives to foreign parts. India is under British rule, yet the Indian Government will not allow

"immigration," unless under certain conditions made as stringent as possible, and the British Government exacts their fulfilment. The Act under which it is alleged these Islanders have been introduced, related to "labourers" from India, and is in nowise applicable to "labourers" from other parts, or there is no reason why negroes from Africa, or Chinese from China, should not be introduced under it—the former a kind of immigration against which the British Government has steadfastly set its face; the latter, one it approves of only under most stringent regulations. The principle violated by the Queensland Legislature is this: that no Government, subordinate to the Imperial Government, has the power to legislate in a matter involving the rights of the subjects of a foreign power; for the simple reason that no such right pertains to the Imperial Government itself, unless it have first concluded a treaty or convention with such power, in which its privileges are specified and limited. In the case of the so-called "free African Immigration," it was found that no arrangement but one could be made with the African chiefs, and that was the sale of the "immigrants," who were not even tributary to them, but prisoners of war. To purchase these people was therefore to connive at and directly to encourage the slave-trade under a new name, and under these circumstances the British Government prohibited it. This Polynesian immigration scheme is similar to the one rejected in all essential features, save only that the traders are themselves the kidnappers and crimps.

Another fatal objection to the scheme is that it is proposed to permit—that is, to license—private individuals to carry it out: a system which the Government has refused to sanction, because of the obvious abuses to which it would give rise. Immigration into our colonies, from India and China, is carried on under direct government supervision, and has always been refused to private enterprise. What the Imperial Government prohibits, no local Legislature can legally allow. Moreover, the late Duke of Newcastle's despatch of 1861, relating to the introduction of coloured labour, especially prohibits the passing by the Colonial Legislature of any measure of the kind, until it has first been referred to and approved by Her Majesty's Government. In the teeth of this prohibition, however, the Queensland Legislature passes a Bill which first declares the traffic in these South Sea Islanders to be unlawful, and then proceeds to legislate upon it, in other words to pass an Act of Indemnity to relieve those concerned in this trade from the consequences of their own unlaw-

ful acts. The Brisbane Parliament before it stood prorogued, adopted a new Bill, modified in many respects to meet some of the objections which have been made to it, and on the 4th of March ult., was to meet again for business. We are in hopes that the remonstrances against giving the Bill the royal assent, will have due weight with the Colonial Minister, and that he will prohibit the trade once and for ever.

We append the Memorial to the Duke of Buckingham, of the Committee of the *Aborigines' Protection Society*:—

• “To His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies.

“On behalf of the Committee of the *Aborigines' Protection Society* we desire respectfully to call your grace's attention to the traffic in native South Sea Islanders, which has been prosecuted for several years past by certain British subjects in the colony of Queensland. The traffic has existed wholly without the sanction of the law, for an act of the colonial legislature authorising coolie immigration from India cannot possibly be made to legalise a traffic which is carried on with countries beyond British jurisdiction, and which is manifestly open to so many grave abuses. The same objection which proved fatal to the so-called immigration of negroes from the coast of Africa applies with equal and irresistible force to the exportation of South Sea Islanders. Even if this plea of illegality broke down, it yet appears that the Government of Queensland took no steps whatever to subject this species of imported labour to the regulations which the Duke of Newcastle's despatch had rendered obligatory in regard to coolies. It is true that the traffic scarcely admitted of regulation in the islands themselves, but it might easily have been placed under proper official control in the ports and plantations of Queensland. That such control was not exercised is greatly to be deplored. We greatly fear that an intimate relation will be found to subsist between this traffic and certain painful events which took place in 1865. In that year Commodore Sir William Wiseman destroyed several villages in the New Hebrides, in retaliation for outrages alleged to have been committed by natives on the persons of British seamen. Our impression that such a connection exists is confirmed by a letter addressed by Captain J. P. Luce, of H.M.S. *Esk*, to Sir George Bowen, Governor of Queensland, and dated Sydney, 25th April, 1867. Captain Luce writes:—‘I have lately received reports of the loss of several vessels, and the murder of several Europeans at Hinchinbroke and other islands of the New Hebrides group. I enclose an extract from a letter written by a trader in that group, wherein you will see that he is informed the natives say that they are doing these atrocities in revenge for the loss of many of their countrymen, who were carried away three years ago to Queensland and the Fiji Islands, by Europeans who hired them as labourers, and promised to return them to their homes in twelve months. The trader writes—‘I have been cautioned by several of the chiefs, and told

to keep a good look-out, as the natives are determined to have revenge on the white man, as he had taken the men of the islands and agreed to bring them back in twelve months, which is over three years. This I know to be the case with parties in Queensland and the Fiji Islands.’ The gallant officer then puts some pertinent inquiries with reference to the introduction of natives from the New Hebrides into the colony of Queensland; and adds:—‘I know from my own experience that many of the vessels trading to the New Hebrides are manned by rough and very lawless men, who, finding themselves beyond the reach of any civilized power, behave towards the natives with injustice. Now that the New Zealand war is over it is to be hoped that vessels of the squadron may be able frequently to visit the islands, and see that the trade is carried on with justice and according to law.’ We understand that a Bill for the regulation of the traffic is now before the Queensland Legislature. We venture to submit that this step is taken too late. The system has already produced strife and bloodshed in the South Sea Islands, and if persisted in will probably entail greater evils in time to come. We believe that no regulations that may hereafter be established will be efficacious in allaying the distrust which has already been excited among the natives, or in preventing great abuses from taking place in the islands from which the labourers are obtained. We therefore venture to hope that a consideration of all the facts now submitted to your Grace will induce Her Majesty's Government to withhold its sanction from the traffic in any form.—We have the honour to remain, your Grace's most obedient servants,

“ALFRED SPENCER CHURCHILL, } Vice-  
“W. T. M. TORRENS, } Presidents.  
“R. N. FOWLER, Treasurer.  
“F. W. CHESSON, Secretary.

“65, Fleet Street, March 23rd, 1868.”

#### SLAVERY BEYOND THE VAAL.

THE institution of Slavery in the Boer Republic of the Trans-Vaal, South Africa, gives signs of that tenacity of existence common to it wherever it finds foothold. It is known that when the Act of Abolition gave liberty to the slaves in the British Colonial possessions, the Boers of the Cape of Good Hope preferred to emigrate rather than give up their slaves, and that they settled in the vicinity of Natal. Here their restless activity brought them into collision with the natives, and ultimately with the British Government. Sir Harry Smith fought and overcame them, and they withdrew beyond the river Vaal, where they established themselves as an independent Republic, under the Presidency of Andreas Pretorius, the father of the actual President, Martinus Pretorius.



In 1852 the British Government entered into a treaty with the Boers, recognising their independence, but stipulating that Slavery should not be permitted to exist within the limits of the new Republic. The Boers openly violated this engagement. In the course of their cruel raids into the adjacent countries, they captured the young Kaffir people, mercilessly killing the parents, and reduced their captives to Slavery, compelling them to work in the fields, in their farms, and in their houses. Remonstrances proved unavailing. The Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* memorialized the Government, and urged the appointment of a Consul, with a view to bring the Boers more directly into relations with the British Colonial authorities at home. The Committee also brought the subject under the notice of Sir P. Wodehouse, the Governor of the Cape Colony; but this functionary seems to have considered interference as likely to aggravate the evil. The Paris Anti-Slavery Conference adopted an address to the actual President of the Trans-Vaal Republic, which was transmitted to him in course, and the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* passed a memorial to the same personage, early in December last, which, however, was not sent until the month of January, in order to afford time for the arrival of the one from the Paris Conference.\* The friends of the cause in Holland were also incited to similar action, and the Committee of the *Aborigines' Protection Society*, who had already been corresponding with the Foreign and the Colonial Ministers, were likewise induced to address Pretorius, and their memorial was duly forwarded through the agency of a leading Dutch abolitionist.

The Committee of the *Aborigines' Protection Society* memorialized Lord Stanley again, in August last, urging the continued violation by the Boers of the treaty of 1852, and alleging that the Governor of the Cape Colony had not addressed any effective remonstrance to the President. They also affirm that many English are engaged in the traffic, and dwell upon the evil effects of such an example. The memorialists further state that the Boers procure their slaves from the Amaponda country, and that the terms, "black ivory" and "black goods" are employed to designate these human chattels in the Trans-Vaal territory, where they are worth from 15*l.* to 20*l.* each. They quote a letter from a Mr. William Martin, of Maritzburg,

Natal, who states, that during a visit he paid to the Republic, six natives, under his protection, were seized at Pretoria, the capital, and reduced to Slavery; and the memorialists pray his lordship to adopt such measures as may be necessary to ensure the fulfilment of the treaty of 1852.

Lord Stanley appears to have acted promptly in the matter, for on the 30th September he directs Mr. Hammond to inform the Committee that, in 1865, the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal had consulted the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope with reference to the particular case cited in the memorial, who had said that any *bonâ fide* inquiry into it would be almost impracticable, and that nothing was likely to be gained by the interference of the British authorities. In the month of December, however, the Committee returned to the charge, and reminded the Secretary of State, that one of the conditions of the negotiation of the independence of the Republic was that the Boers should abstain from the practice of Slavery; that it was the more necessary to enforce this condition, because the British Government stood pledged to prevent the sale of arms and ammunition to the natives, who were thus left defenceless, whilst the Colonial markets remained open to their adversaries; that, therefore, either the prohibition should be removed, or enforced equally on both parties. This communication was referred to the Colonial Office, and in January the Secretary of State for this department informed the Committee that in 1866, further facts having come to the knowledge of Sir P. Wodehouse, he had addressed vigorous remonstrances to the President of the Trans-Vaal Republic against the practices alleged, and that the President had announced, in reply, that legal proceedings had been taken against certain offenders, known to have kidnapped children, and that his government intended to repress Slave-trading and Slavery. The answer to this assurance is, that at the present moment the Boer farmers hold in Slavery upwards of four thousand Kaffir children.

Direct communication with the President of the Trans-Vaal Republic has, until quite recently, been almost impracticable, there being no representative of the British Government at the capital, nor of the Republic in England. The appointment, however, of a Consul for the South-African Republic opens a channel of intercourse of which advantage may be taken to remonstrate again and again with Pretorius, until the institution of Slavery is extirpated from his territories.

We subjoin the text of the Addresses referred to.

\* The text of this memorial will be published shortly, with the Special Report of the Conference.—Ed. A. S. R.

*Memorial of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.*

TO HIS EXCELLENCY MARTINIUS PRETORIUS, PRESIDENT OF THE TRANS-VAAL REPUBLIC, SOUTH AFRICA.

SIR,—In the year 1854 the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* thought it their duty to address to your late father a respectful memorial on the subject of the practice of Slavery amongst the citizens of the Trans-Vaal Republic. The Committee had received trustworthy information that large numbers of young people, belonging to tribes living in the countries adjacent to the Trans-Vaal territory, were habitually captured and brought into it to be made slaves. Your Excellency's late father returned, in due course, an answer to the Society's memorial, not denying the fact alleged, but seeking to justify the violence remonstrated against, on the plea that the young people were not slaves, but apprentices, who would be freed after a certain term of service, and were actually benefited by their change of condition.

The Committee are not able to admit the justice of the plea put forward by Your Excellency's late father, that the system against which their remonstrances are directed is not Slavery, but an apprenticeship; on the contrary, the Committee must respectfully urge that the involuntary servitude of kidnapped captives, for a period of twenty-one years, is a form of real Slavery, which outrages the first principles of religion, justice and humanity; and they would earnestly appeal to Your Excellency without loss of time to seek the means of putting a stop to it for ever.

The Committee had hoped that the cruel practice of kidnapping young persons would have disappeared long ere this from the Trans-Vaal Republic, under a more enlightened Government, the influence of advancing civilization, and the example of other nations. They deeply regret to learn, from sources which do not admit of question, that so far from the system of slaveholding amongst the citizens of the Republic having diminished, it has extended: hence, they feel it incumbent upon them to address your Excellency on the subject.

The Committee would further respectfully urge that the practice complained of is in direct contravention of the fourth article of the treaty concluded in the year 1852 between the President of the Trans-Vaal Republic and the British Government.

Although the citizens of the Trans-Vaal Republic are living in a remote region, it is presumed that they are not insensible to

the good opinion of the other nations of the civilized world. England, France, Denmark, the United States and Holland (the mother country of the Boers) have abolished Slavery. Spain and Portugal are taking steps for its final extinction. Barbarous or Pagan nations appear now to be the only communities likely to retain that detestable institution, and these cannot much longer maintain it, condemned as it is by the whole world. The Committee venture to indulge the hope that the citizens of the Trans-Vaal Republic would prefer to be ranked amongst the peoples who have done justice to the oppressed, than amongst those who oppose it, and amongst the oppressors of their kind. They would therefore strongly appeal to them, through Your Excellency, to terminate the practice against which this memorial is intended to bear testimony, and thus earn the gratitude of those held in bondage, and the esteem of the world at large. They would rejoice to see all your people free, and to know that the Trans-Vaal Republic was made a blessing to the various peoples which surround it.

27 New Broad-street, London, E.C.

January 3, 1868.

*Memorial of the Committee of the Aborigines' Protection Society.*

TO HIS HONOUR MARTIN PRETORIUS, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA.

SIR,—Many years have elapsed since we addressed your lamented father and predecessor on behalf of the native inhabitants of South Africa who are either subject to the authority of your Republic, or reside in the neighbouring territories. The Dutch and the English are bound together by so many ties, that we ventured to hope that our appeal would receive the consideration it merited. We asked that the natives might be treated with justice and humanity, and not as beasts of prey, which the strong man has a right to subdue. We asked that you would endeavour to live with them on terms of peace and friendship; that you would impart to them the blessings of civilization; and, if using their labour, that you would pay them the wages of free men. In preferring this earnest and respectful request, we had the sympathy of the English nation, who had been made acquainted by Dr. Livingstone and others with the sufferings unjustly inflicted on the native people: and we also had the sympathy of many persons in Holland, who were naturally anxious that the good name of their kinsmen in South Africa should not be tarnished.



We, however, deeply regret to learn that no amendment has taken place, but that Slavery, under the form of apprenticeship, is widely practised by the community of which you are the ruler. We cannot believe that, in this Christian age, you will sanction the continuance of this practice. Enforced servitude, whether it be called apprenticeship, or is known by a more revolting name, must be Slavery, and necessarily lead to all the evils which grow out of so unnatural a system. Even in the dark places of the earth the institution of Slavery is passing away, and we cannot think that you will allow it a place in South Africa.

We pray you that you will speedily follow the good example of the United States and of your beloved Holland, and that you will believe in our sincere desire for the happiness and prosperity of the Transvaal Republic.

We have the honour to remain, Sir,  
Your honour's obedient Servants,  
(Signed),

ALFRED S. CHURCHILL, *Vice-President.*

R. N. FOWLER, *Treasurer.*

F. W. CHESSEON, *Secretary.*

London, 6th December 1867.

#### EMANCIPATION IN BRAZIL.

A PUBLIC question which has to be solved, usually presents three stages in its history. The first is that of perfect indifference to it, when all parties are content to allow matters to remain as they are; the second is that of attention, when people begin to discuss the mode and time of terminating a state of things admitted to be no longer tolerable; the third and last is when measures of some kind are adopted to settle the subject of discussion. The question of the abolition of Slavery in Brazil has entered its third stage; hence we hear of the freeing by the Government of slaves who agree to take service in the army, and of conditional emancipation in other directions; all imperfect measures, in one sense, but nevertheless indicating the beginning of the end. The project under consideration of the Government, as we are informed, contemplates absolute emancipation only at the end of thirty-three years; that is to say, all the slaves existing at the end of thirty-three years after the promulgation of the decree of abolition, are to be entitled to their freedom unreservedly. In the second place, all children born of slaves, after the publication of the decree, are also to be free; but the masters are to have the option of retaining them under tutelage, or apprenticeship, for twenty-one years, during which term they are to benefit by the labour of the so-called freedmen, but

are to maintain and to pay them a salary. Should any decline the tutelage, they are to receive compensation for the children. Thirdly, the introduction of Slavery into certain provinces in which no slaves yet exist, is to be prohibited, and in certain others, where the slaves are few in number, emancipation with compensation is to be declared, and Slavery thenceforward prohibited in them. Finally, at the end of thirty-three years, all slaves then living to be declared absolutely free, without compensation to the owners.

It will be seen that this plan is essentially bad, but it nevertheless indicates a certain advance. Other plans have been proposed, and a writer in the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* thus sets forth the one we subjoin. It furnishes another proof, if any were wanting, of the extraordinary tenderness exhibited towards the owners of slaves, by those advocates of abolition who are not prepared to take their stand upon the broad principle of the absolute and inherent sinfulness of slave-holding *per se*, and who therefore involve themselves in a maze of difficulties in their endeavours to suggest ameliorations in a system which is in itself so huge an accumulation of abuses, that nothing short of its extirpation will meet the exigencies of the case.

Thus the writer referred to:—

#### FOR EMANCIPATION IN BRAZIL.

1st. To secure the slave his perquisites, that is, what he fairly acquires for himself by his own labour and industry, through the good will of his master or any other person, and even unexpectedly allowing him to ransom himself by this means.

2nd. To permit him, when he has to be separated or sold through the force of circumstances, to ransom himself or be ransomed by means of valuation: a disposition which attaches to voluntary sale or separation, unless there be good reasons against it.

3rd. To proclaim free all slaves entailed, the property of defunct and absent persons, and such as are unclaimed, whenever there is not a purchaser, the master or heirs having no right to any claim for compensation, from their being in such cases (as facts prove), as a general rule, old and infirm, incapable of work, worthy objects, therefore, of such a boon.

4th. Those slaves should also be free who are abandoned by their masters as infirm or unable to work, their masters being obliged, however, when known, to support them, or pay for their support, provided they have the means.

5th. Liberty, free of indemnity, to be conferred on the slave who renders any important service to his master or member of the family, such as saving life, rearing children, and such like.

6th. By conferring liberty by means of compensation to the master, for important service to strangers, and particularly to the State and the cause of religion.

7th. By conferring liberty on the slave who, either with the express consent or tacit acquiescence of his master, contracts marriage with a free person, or who establishes and proceeds as in any industry, profession, or even public service.

8th. In like manner, on the slave who may be seriously injured by his master, by his master's wife or children, having regard also to the offence defined by Art. 219 of the Crim. Code.

9th. That the married freedman, or any one for him, be allowed to ransom the married slave, and the offspring of a married slave; it is the protection of the family circle.

These measures would combine to improve the condition of slaves, at the same time that they promoted emancipation indirectly. But it were desirable to adopt others also to that end, such, for instance, as—

1st. Prohibiting the separation of husband and wife, as well as offspring under age; thereby recognizing family rights, and enabling them, when free, to transfer their family into the society of the free.

2nd. Prohibiting the sale of slaves in private and public auction. This is a degrading practice, offensive to public morality, and betokens a very backward civilization. There are other more becoming and equally safe ways of attracting competition, such as are resorted to in administrative, and even in judicial affairs sometimes.

3rd. Protecting slaves from being ill-used by their masters, whether morally or physically; endeavouring to make them, on the contrary, treat them more humanely: our present habits makes this easy, and religious influence might achieve some good results.

4th. Reforming the penal laws and that of the criminal process, abolishing corporal punishment and irons, and the extreme punishment of death, as well as the interdiction of recourse, under certain circumstances.

5th. To permit them to attend preparatory schools, even though these have to be specially provided for them; if, hereafter, they are to be free, and as such mix in society, it is desirable that they should have some elementary instruction and training, and likewise a moral and religious one, which generally is overlooked.

6th. Enabling slaves to acquire gain, so as not only to permit their emancipating themselves by that means, but to excite them to exertion for their own benefit, that when free they may enter the social community as useful members of society.

7th. Abolishing mortgages and other securities on slaves, excepting in agricultural establishments.

#### RENEWAL OF PROCEEDINGS AGAINST MR. EYRE.

WE append a record of the proceedings against ex-Governor Eyre, referred to in our Summary.

AT BOW STREET.

Friday, 17th April.

This was an application by Sir R. P. Collier,

Q.C., to Mr. Vaughan, the sitting magistrate, for a summons against ex-Governor Eyre, on charges of oppression during his tenure of office as Governor of Jamaica.

Sir R. P. COLLIER said: I am instructed by Mr. John Stuart Mill, M.P., and Mr. Peter A. Taylor, M.P., to apply to your worship for a summons requiring Mr. Eyre to answer certain charges preferred against him under the Colonial Governors' Acts, to which I shall presently refer. I think, before I do so, it may be as well to remind you of what has taken place in this court. I dare say you are aware that application was made to Sir Thomas Henry to commit for trial Colonel Nelson and Lieutenant Brand on the charge of murder with relation to the execution of Mr. Gordon in Jamaica—Sir Thomas Henry acceded to that application, and committed them for trial; and I observe he expressed himself in this way:—"It is not the province of a magistrate to determine questions of law, but to inquire into questions of fact, and to put them in train for further inquiry." Sir Thomas Henry committed those gentlemen for trial. A bill was preferred against them, but it was thrown out by the grand jury. A subsequent application was made to Sir Thomas Henry to commit Mr. Eyre for trial as an accessory to the murder of Mr. Gordon. I should state that that application was made at the earliest moment after Mr. Eyre's coming into the jurisdiction of this court. Sir Thomas Henry dismissed that application, upon the ground, as he stated, that, as the grand jury had thrown out the bill with respect to the principals, he did not think that he should be justified in committing Mr. Eyre as an accessory. Although he intimated that further proceedings might be taken, yet those who instructed me have determined to accept his decision as final upon that subject, and not to proceed any further upon the charge of murder. Accordingly, I am now instructed to proceed upon a totally different charge—for certain alleged misdemeanours committed by Mr. Eyre, as governor of the colony of Jamaica, in virtue of his office. I will now call your attention very shortly to one or two statutes passed with reference to the very important object, as we must all admit, the making governors of colonies responsible for any acts of oppression or wrong which they may have done in their government. It is difficult to conceive a subject of more importance to a country having great colonial possessions like ours. The first statute upon that subject to which I will call your attention is the 11th and 12th William the Third, chapter 12, which is an Act to punish governors of the plantations of this kingdom for crimes committed by them in the plantations. That statute enacted that if any governor should be guilty of oppressing any of his Majesty's subjects in the plantations, he might be indicted and punished in England. Another statute, which does not repeal that just mentioned, but may be considered supplemental to it—the 42nd George III., c. 85—enacted that if any person who now is, or has been, or shall hereafter be employed abroad in the service of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, in any civil or military state and capacity, shall have committed, or may hereafter commit, any misdemeanour, such offences may be inquired into in his Majesty's Court of King's Bench in



England, either by the information of the Attorney-General, or by an indictment found by a grand jury in the county of Middlesex. That being so, I refer to the 11th and 12th Victoria, c. 42, with which you are, of course familiar. That Act extends the provisions of the previous Act, and enacts that in all cases of indictable crimes or offences committed by any of her Majesty's subjects beyond the seas, and for which an indictment might be legally preferred in any place in England or Wales, it should be lawful for anyone or more of her Majesty's justices of the peace, in any county or borough of England or Wales, where the person who is charged to have committed such offence may be, to issue a warrant for the apprehension of the offender, in order that he might answer such charge according to law. It is under these statutes that I ask your worship to issue a summons against Mr. Eyre, that he may answer the charges that are to be preferred against him. I will now proceed to state shortly what those charges are. I do not desire to occupy more of your time than is necessary, for if you should think fit to accede to this application it will be necessary, upon the appearance of Mr. Eyre, to go into the whole matter against him more largely. The charges upon which we shall insist, if you grant this summons, will be first the issuing of an illegal and oppressive proclamation, for which Mr. Eyre acknowledged himself to be responsible. Further, we shall show that he continued this proclamation beyond the time when, according to his own showing, there was a necessity for it. That would be, to assume for argument's sake, what I have now to deny, that there was a justifiable necessity for the proclamation. Then, further, there will be charges of arresting, imprisoning, and at least in one case of flogging persons out of the district to which the proclamation applied; acts which I apprehend were manifestly illegal, and for which the only possible defence may be the Jamaica Indemnity Act, to which I will afterwards refer, if necessary. That is an outline of the charges that will be made, and I will now enter more particularly into the first charge. I fully admit that in the case of an insurrection any violence which is absolutely necessary to put it down, and to ensure the public safety, is justifiable, and that it is justifiable, not by the law, but by that which is antecedent to all law—the principle of self-defence. As I ventured to put it on the last occasion to Sir Thomas Henry, who subscribed to the doctrine—if you find a burglar in your house, threatening you with violence, you have the right of apprehending him, and if there be danger to life or limb, of killing him. But after you have apprehended and secured him, you have no right to kill him, either as a punishment, or to prevent other burglaries being committed by members of the gang. On the 11th of October, 1865, an outbreak took place, accompanied by massacre, in the island of Jamaica. Two days afterwards Mr. Eyre issues this proclamation, dated the 13th. According to Mr. Eyre's own showing the insurrection had been entirely got under by at least the 18th. Not a single casualty happened to any one of the troops. They met with no resistance from the rebels or insurgents, or whatever they may be called. These are undisputed facts, which appear by Mr.

Eyre's own statement. This proclamation of the 13th October was continued in force for thirty days. I will now read it—"Victoria, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, to all our loving subjects: Whereas, we are certified of the committal of grievous trespasses and felonies within the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, in this our island of Jamaica, and have reason for expecting that the same will be extended to the neighbouring parishes in the county of Surrey, in our said island; Now, we do hereby, by the authority to us committed, and by the laws of this our island, declare and announce to all whom it may concern, that martial law shall prevail throughout the said county of Surrey, except in the city and parish of Kingston, and that our military forces shall have all power of exercising the rights of belligerents against such inhabitants of the county, excepting as aforesaid, as our military force may consider opposed to our government and the well-being of our loving subjects." Now let us see, in the first place, what this proclamation amounts to. Mr. Eyre assumes to treat the subjects of her Majesty in Jamaica, or a certain number of those subjects, as alien enemies, and to enforce against them the rights of war—the same rights which may be exercised against an invading foe; and, further, he confides it to the military force to determine who are those alien enemies, and against whom those powers are to be exercised, and it appears that the military force are to exercise those rights of belligerents—that is to say, the right of killing or flogging, imprisoning or hanging, in fact all the rights that are usual in war, not merely against all persons whom the military force may find in actual arms or in flagrant insurrection, but all whom they may consider opposed to the Government and well-being of her Majesty's subjects. To the military force—it does not appear precisely who they are—this most important power is delegated. The only martial law hitherto known in the island, as I shall contend, was that all the white inhabitants from fifteen to sixty are to be embodied in militia, and subject to military law, and possibly further that all others are subject to the same law. This proclamation directly conflicts with the Petition of Rights. I do not remember any proclamation which goes to the extent of treating the subjects of the Queen as alien enemies, and gives to any portion of the troops the power of determining whether any person is disaffected to the Government, or opposed to the well-being of the rest of the Queen's subjects. To place the most favourable construction on the proclamation, I suppose it is not to be assumed that the proclamation gives to the private soldier the right of exercising his judgment in such a matter.

Mr. VAUGHAN—I understand you to contend that, even supposing a proclamation might have been lawfully issued, this proclamation is such as Mr. Eyre was not justified in issuing.

SIR R. P. COLLIER.—I meant so to express myself. I do not deny that a proclamation of martial law might in a certain sense be justified. I say, in the first place, that Mr. Eyre was not justified in issuing this proclamation by the terms of his commission or any authority derived from the Queen; secondly, that he was not entitled to

issue it by any Acts in force in the colony. After quoting passages from the charge of Lord Chief Justice Cockburn to the grand jury in the case of Colonel Nelson and Lieutenant Brand, in which his lordship showed that martial law had never been resorted to by any sovereign of this country for the purpose of punishing rebellion, and that such a course would be contrary to the Petition of Right, the learned gentleman proceeded to say: Therefore I apprehend I have shown this, that martial law, in the sense used in this proclamation, is *ultra vires* of the Queen in this country, according to the view of the Lord Chief Justice. And if the Queen herself could not proclaim martial law, how could Her Majesty confer upon Mr. Eyre the authority to proclaim martial law? Then the next question is, Was Mr. Eyre authorised by the statutes of Jamaica in issuing this proclamation? The Legislature of Jamaica was not constituted by an Act of Parliament, but solely by the authority of the Crown, and it is therefore very difficult to suppose that the powers of the Legislature of Jamaica could exceed those of the Crown, from which it had its source. It is difficult to conceive that a stream could rise above its fountain-head. As the Legislature of Jamaica was constituted, not by Act of Parliament, but by the Crown, what I submit is this, that if the common law of England, including the Petition of Right, prevails in Jamaica, an Assembly in Jamaica, constituted merely by the power of the Crown and not by Act of Parliament, could not have any power which is contradictory to the Petition of Right and the English common law. The actual statute under which the proclamation of the Governor took place is this, it is the Act of the 9th of Victoria (for Jamaica,) cap. 35. It is an Act intituled "An Act to consolidate and amend the Militia Laws." It contains a number of provisions with respect to the persons liable to serve on the militia, the trial of offenders, the constitution of courts-martial, and questions of that kind. And then comes a section with reference to the proclamation of martial law, if it should be necessary, by the advice of a council of war. That Act does not define martial law at all, and we are driven back to the older statutes to find out what martial law means. It does not define under what circumstances martial law may be proclaimed. Mr. Philippo, an eminent Jamaica barrister, quoted by the Lord Chief Justice, has shown conclusively that martial law simply means military law, and that the Jamaica Legislature, in passing an act to enable the Governor to proclaim martial law, meant merely to enable him to put the troops under martial law. Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, in a note which he has appended to his charge to the grand jury in the case of Colonel Nelson and Lieutenant Brand, expresses his opinion that Mr. Philippo has made that point clear. If that view is correct, this proclamation is a total violation of law, and there is no foundation whatever for it. I will prove by the evidence of Mr. Philippo that the statutes of Jamaica are interpreted according to the law of England. Then, giving the widest possible signification which can be given to the term martial law, the meaning of martial law according to the statutes of Jamaica is this, that the Governor may have the power of subjecting all the militia

—that is to say, all the white inhabitants between sixteen and sixty—to military law, to be tried by courts-martial instead of by the ordinary civil tribunals, and possibly also all the rest of the population—that is to say, the black population of the island, since emancipation—to military law. I should state that there are other Acts which expressly enable the Governor to issue special commissions, which have authority all over the island, for the purpose of trying insurgents or any persons who may offend against the law in times of emergency.

MR. VAUGHAN.—Was any commission of that kind issued at the time of the proclamation?

SIR R. P. COLLIER.—None whatever; but one was issued afterwards. On the part, then, of the prosecution, I submit that Mr. Eyre issued a proclamation which is entirely illegal, and which, in fact, is more arbitrary in its terms than any of the proclamations which were issued in the reign of Edward III., or that issued in the reign of James I. or Charles I., which were declared to be illegal by the Petition of Right, and which the Lord Chief Justice declares to be decidedly illegal. I apprehend that if that is so, a misdemeanour was clearly committed by Mr. Eyre. The words of the Colonial Governors Act are directed against "oppressions." It is very difficult to say what would be oppression if the issuing of a proclamation of this kind, treating the Queen's subjects as alien enemies and subjecting them to be shot or hanged at the discretion of soldiers, is not oppression.

MR. VAUGHAN.—If no acts were done under the proclamation, do you contend that the issuing of the proclamation was illegal?

SIR R. P. COLLIER.—I contend that the mere issuing of the proclamation without any right whatever is an offence. (In support of that view the learned counsel referred to "Chitty's Prerogatives of the Crown," page 104.)

MR. VAUGHAN.—Mr. Eyre was clothed with authority to issue a proclamation, and the only question therefore is, whether the proclamation which he issued was, in point of fact, illegal.

SIR R. P. COLLIER.—It is not, perhaps, necessary now to discuss the difficult points which may arise on the indictment. I have considered this matter with Mr. Chitty, and we certainly came to the conclusion that it would be a good count to allege that the proclamation was issued unlawfully, wrongfully, and to the great terror and alarm of Her Majesty's subjects, &c. You cannot consider that this proclamation could be published at Kingston without producing a great effect on the public mind. It would be a question for the jury whether that was not so. But the case does not rest there, inasmuch as there are abundant proofs—proofs by Mr. Eyre himself—that this proclamation was acted upon extensively, that a vast number of executions took place under it, and that it was in force in the island for thirty days. Mr. Eyre, in the despatch which he wrote to Mr. Cardwell on the 20th of October, says, "It is now clear that by the rapidity of our movements we have got ahead of the rebellion." It appears that the extraordinary powers that were exercised were not merely exercised for the purpose of putting down rebellion, but were exercised upon persons who had been taken after the rebellion was over, and from whom no danger could be apprehended. Mr. Eyre in his despatch said,



"Large numbers have been shot with arms in their hands, a great many persons have been tried, hanged, shot, or flogged, and a considerable number of persons are still awaiting trial by court-martial." We have here Mr. Eyre himself admitting that what he calls a court-martial, but which in fact was no court-martial at all, and which consisted merely of two or three officers that could be got together, was trying not merely persons found in arms, but persons who had been taken after the rebellion was put down, and who might have been tried by the ordinary tribunals of the country, which were sitting the whole time. Mr. Eyre further said, "No stand has ever been made against the troops; we are in complete military occupation of the districts that were disturbed; not a single casualty has happened to any of our soldiers or sailors, who are all in good health." Writing again on the 20th of October, Mr. Eyre said, "The rebellion in the lately disturbed districts is crushed." In his evidence before the Jamaica Commission he said, "We had reason to suppose on Wednesday, the 18th of October, that we had stopped the rebellion from spreading." But this so-called martial law, which is no law at all, was continued for nearly a month after, and a vast number of people were hanged and flogged under that martial law when the ordinary tribunals were open, and before which they could have been tried.

MR. VAUGHAN.—Were any persons tried by court-martial for acts done after the rebellion was put down?

SIR R. P. COLLIER.—Persons were tried for acts done both before it took place and after it was put down. The learned gentleman then referred to the work of Mr. Hawkins, to show that all oppressions and misdemeanours may be indicted, and then continued, The words of the Colonial Governors Act are, "oppressions in their office." When the rebellion was altogether crushed, when persons might have been tried by the ordinary tribunals, Mr. Eyre gave power to soldiers to execute whom they pleased.

MR. VAUGHAN.—Can you prove that any acts were done under this proclamation against persons living in districts that were not in an actual state of rebellion?

SIR R. P. COLLIER.—Certainly; not only against persons who were living peaceably in the disturbed districts, but also against persons who were living peaceably out of the disturbed districts.

MR. VAUGHAN.—Is it necessary to come before a magistrate in a case of this nature? Does not the statute give power to prefer an indictment?

SIR R. P. COLLIER.—Well, it is possible that that may be so, but I believe it is always thought best to come before a magistrate, in order that he may exercise his judgment in the first instance, and because the depositions taken before the magistrate may afterwards be laid before the grand jury to give them full information of the case. I apprehend that it is to the interest, not only of the accused, but of the public, that we should come before a magistrate in the first instance.

MR. VAUGHAN.—Do you say that a magistrate has the power of dealing with a case of this nature?

SIR R. P. COLLIER.—I think he has.

MR. VAUGHAN.—The 42d Geo III. cap. 85, seems to indicate that an indictment before a grand jury is the first course to be adopted.

SIR R. P. COLLIER read from the 11th and 19th Vic., which gives power to a magistrate to issue a warrant in those cases where indictments may be lawfully preferred.

MR. VAUGHAN.—I think you are entitled to a summons against Governor Eyre for issuing this proclamation.

SIR R. P. COLLIER.—Probably your worship would include in the summons the charge against Mr. Eyre of apprehending and unlawfully imprisoning, flogging, hanging, &c., divers persons, both those who were at the time beyond the ambit of the proclaimed district and those within it.

MR. VAUGHAN having consented to issue one summons with reference to the proclamation and the acts done under it, and another with reference to the cases where the parties were beyond the martial law district, said, I would only suggest that all the applications in the case heard before have been heard before Sir Thomas Henry, who is very much more conversant with all the facts of the case than I am. I should be most happy to do my duty, but as the matter at present stands, it is my opinion that any summons issued should be heard before Sir Thomas Henry.

SIR R. P. COLLIER.—Any arrangement that can be come to for that purpose I shall be most happy to accede to. May I ask when he will be sitting here?

MR. VAUGHAN.—Sir Thomas Henry will be sitting here certainly next Thursday.

SIR R. P. COLLIER.—My only objection to that day consists in the fact that Mr. Philipppo, whose testimony will be of great consequence, has to go out as Queen's Advocate to Sierra Leone, and must leave on that day.

MR. VAUGHAN.—Well, let the summons be fixed for Wednesday next, on which day I shall be here. If the parties wish to have the assistance of Sir Thomas Henry, I think it highly probable he will be here, and ready to attend to the case on that day.

*Wednesday, 22d April.*

Ex-Governor Eyre appeared this day to answer the summons issued on the 17th, under the Colonial Government Act, 11th and 12th William III., charging him, first, with having issued an illegal and offensive proclamation; and secondly, with having illegally and oppressively continued to act under that proclamation after the necessity, if any, for such proclamation had ceased.

Sir R. P. Collier and Mr. J. Horne Payne, instructed by Messrs. Shaen and Roscoe, conducted the prosecution on behalf of Mr. John Stuart Mill, M.P., and Mr. P. A. Taylor, M.P. Mr. Eyre, who attended in person, was not represented by counsel; but his solicitor, Mr. Rose, was present to watch the proceedings. Mr. Eyre was accommodated with a seat in the attorney's box.

MR. VAUGHAN wished before the case proceeded to call attention to a technical objection, which had been brought to his attention since the summons had been issued, and which he thought of

such magnitude, that he should wish to hear what Sir R. P. Collier had to say to it, before going any further with the case.

MR. ROSE said he hoped he should be allowed to make an application. He was quite sure that the learned magistrate had no doubt the case was one in which he could not have any jurisdiction.

MR. VAUGHAN was not at present prepared to say that.

MR. ROSE said that his purpose was to apply for an adjournment. Mr. Eyre's counsel, being engaged in the Fenian prosecution, could not possibly attend to-day, and he hoped the Magistrate would adjourn the investigation until he could have the advantage of counsel.

MR. VAUGHAN said that in no case would Mr. Eyre be prejudiced by the absence of counsel. If Sir R. P. Collier was unable to answer the objection, the summons would be dismissed. If, on the other hand, the learned counsel could satisfy him that he ought to go on with the case, he should take care that it should be adjourned to give time for counsel to attend. Mr. Vaughan then proceeded to say that the summons had been granted under the Colonial Governors Act, 11 and 12 William III.

SIR R. P. COLLIER said there were two Colonial Governors Acts.

MR. VAUGHAN said that was no doubt so; but there was no doubt that the summons was granted chiefly, if not wholly, under the first. Now charges under that Act must be heard before the Court of Queen's Bench, but, on referring to other Acts, he found that the magistrates had only power to commit to the Courts of Oyer and Terminer, or to a Special Commission. The Courts of Oyer and Terminer in this district were clearly the Central Criminal Court and the Middlesex Sessions. If he should hear the case, and the charge should be made out against Mr. Eyre, then, supposing he was committed without bail, he must be sent to Newgate, with a view to trial at one of these Courts. But as understood by this Act, the indictment might be preferred at the Court of Queen's Bench—and the depositions forwarded to that Court—the result would be that when the time came that the trial ought to take place, the prisoner would be brought up—say at the Central Criminal Court, Old Bailey—and there would be no indictment before that Court, and no evidence against the prisoner before that Court, because they had been forwarded to the Court of Queen's Bench. He, therefore, thought that it was a case in which this Court had no jurisdiction. It would still, however, be in the power of the prosecutors to prefer a bill before the grand jury in the Court of Queen's Bench. It would be remembered, indeed, that at the time of the application he had pointed out that this course was open to the prosecution; but it was said in support of the application that comments were made, when bills were preferred, behind the back of the accused, and that this mode of procedure was more fair and open. That argument, however, could no longer weigh, unless it was shown that the matter was within his jurisdiction.

SIR R. P. COLLIER said that the view that the learned magistrate had now stated was, he presumed, *prima facie*, and liable to be removed; and he hoped to remove it, and show that it was

imperative on the magistrate to proceed with the case. He contended at great length that the Court of Queen's Bench was a Court of Oyer and Terminer for the county of Middlesex, and quoted statutes and authorities in support of that view. He maintained that, even if the magistrate could not bind over the witnesses, or order an indictment to be preferred before the Court of Queen's Bench, that need not preclude him from dealing with the case. He could sufficiently discharge his duty by committing the prisoner to Newgate, there to be kept until dealt with in the course of law, and the course of law would be that he would be brought before the grand jury in the Court of Queen's Bench. But he further contended that the magistrate had full power to commit to the Court of Queen's Bench, precisely as he could to the Central Criminal Court.

MR. VAUGHAN, though admitting that there was much force in some of Sir R. P. Collier's arguments, especially as to the state of the law in the time of Lord Lyttleton, was still of opinion that the Court of Queen's Bench was not a Court of Oyer and Terminer, within the meaning of the Acts under which these proceedings have been taken. He should, therefore, decline to exercise jurisdiction in the case.

SIR R. P. COLLIER asked upon what ground the magistrate rested his refusal to exercise jurisdiction.

MR. VAUGHAN replied, on the very obvious ground that he believed he had not got it. However, that did not preclude the prosecution from further proceedings. If they were of opinion that he had the jurisdiction they could apply to the Court of Queen's Bench for a *mandamus* to compel him to hear the case. Of course, if that were granted, he should have sufficient authority to justify him in a committal, supposing it should come to that.

MR. ROSE hoped a time would be fixed, so that the case should not be kept hanging over Mr. Eyre's head.

MR. VAUGHAN said he would adjourn the application for a week. In the meanwhile a rule could be applied for. If that rule were refused, he should dismiss the summons, or if the rule were granted, he could again adjourn it, to await the result of the arguments.

SIR R. P. COLLIER asked for a longer adjournment, as he wished to make the application to the Lord Chief Justice.

Ultimately, the summons was adjourned till Monday week.

#### IN THE COURT OF QUEEN'S BENCH.

Thursday, April 30th.

(Sittings in Banco, before the LORD CHIEF JUSTICE, Mr. Justice BLACKBURN, Mr. Justice MELLOB, and Mr. Justice HANNEN.)

IN THE MATTER OF EDWARD JOHN EYRE, ESQ.,  
LATE GOVERNOR OF JAMAICA.

This was an application to compel the magistrate at Bow Street to hear a charge of high crime and misdemeanour made against Mr. Eyre, late Governor of Jamaica. The charge was made under the Colonial Governors Act, 11th and 12th of William III., cap. 12, and the 42d of George III., cap. 85. The former Act provided that if



any Colonial Governor should be guilty of oppressing any of His Majesty's subjects, or be guilty of any other crime or offence beyond seas, such oppression, crime or offence should be inquired into, heard, and determined in the Court of King's Bench, and punished as if committed in this country; and the statute of George III. enacted that if any person employed in the service of the Crown, in a civil or military capacity abroad, should be guilty of any crime, misdemeanour, or offence in the execution, or exercise, or under colour of his office, every such crime or offence should be prosecuted, heard, and determined in the Court of King's Bench, either upon information exhibited by the Attorney-General or upon indictment found, in Middlesex; upon which the offender should be punished as if the offence had been committed in this country. These being the statutes which related to the alleged offence, the statute relied upon with reference to the charge before the magistrates was Sir John Jervis's Act, 11th and 12th of Victoria, cap. 42, sec. 2, which enacted that in all cases of indictable crimes or offences committed beyond seas for which an indictment might be preferred in this country, a magistrate for the district in which the accused should reside or be supposed to reside might hear the application for a summons or warrant; and sec. 25 provides that the magistrate may bind the parties over to appear at "the next Court of Oyer and Terminer or gaol delivery before which the accused would be tried;" upon which latter provision the present question had arisen. The affidavit upon which the application was made set forth that on the 13th of October, 1865, one Edward John Eyre, who was then Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of Jamaica, caused to be issued a proclamation of martial law (which was set out in terms, and purported to declare that martial law should prevail, and that the military forces should have the power of exercising all rights of belligerents against those of the inhabitants whom they might consider opposed to the Government), and that immediately after issuing the proclamation he violently, oppressively, and illegally put a stop to the ordinary course of justice, and suspended and superseded the ordinary courts of law at Morant Bay and other places within the island, and handed over the district to the military forces then under his command, to be dealt with as an enemy's country; and that a large number of Her Majesty's subjects residing in the island were tried by certain illegal tribunals, composed of naval and military officers, for various alleged offences against the laws of the country, and were punished by such tribunals in a cruel, unusual, and oppressive manner. Then the deponent (the attorney for the prosecution) deposed that he verily believed that in issuing the proclamation, and in doing or causing to be done the various illegal and oppressive acts mentioned or referred to, the said Edward John Eyre had been guilty of divers misdemeanours and indictable offences under those statutes which had been mentioned, and which were set forth in the affidavit. Then the affidavit went on to state that on the 17th inst. (Mr. Eyre then being within the jurisdiction of the metropolitan police-courts) an application was made by counsel upon

the complaint of Mr. Peter Taylor, M.P., to Mr. Vaughan, the magistrate at Bow Street, for a warrant or summons to him to appear to answer certain charges to be preferred against him for offences alleged to have been committed by him against the Colonial Governors and Officers Acts—that is to say, for having issued an illegal and oppressive proclamation, for divers arbitrary and oppressive acts done under it with his concurrence and sanction, for arresting one Sidney Levens at a place called Montego Bay, 150 miles from the district over which the proclamation of martial law extended, for keeping him imprisoned many weeks after the proclamation had ceased to be in force (under the pretence that the Attorney-General might have time to consider whether civil proceedings should be instituted against him) until he was liberated by *habeas corpus*, no charge having been preferred against him; for illegally arresting out of the district over which the proclamation extended one Benjamin Morris, and causing him to be imprisoned and flogged without any charge having been preferred against him; for similar illegal arrest and imprisonment of one Bruce; for similar illegal arrest and imprisonment of one Vinen; and for similar arrest and imprisonment of one George William Gordon, and divers other persons; that upon this complaint and application Mr. Vaughan issued summonses against Mr. Eyre directing him to appear at Bow-street to answer an information that he, in October, 1865, in the island of Jamaica, did unlawfully issue an illegal and oppressive proclamation, and cause divers illegal acts to be done under it, and also an information that he, in October and November, 1865, at divers places within the island of Jamaica, did unlawfully cause the arrest and imprisonment and flogging of divers persons who resided within the island under certain illegal proclamation of martial law; that Mr. Eyre appeared upon such summonses, but that then the magistrate stated his opinion to be that as by the statutes the proceedings must be in "the Court of Queen's Bench, and he had no power to bind over parties to appear in that court, but only in an ordinary Court of Oyer and Terminer or gaol delivery, he had no jurisdiction in the matter," and so he dismissed the informations.

Upon an affidavit setting forth all these matters,

Sir R. COLLIER (with him Mr. Fitzjames Stephen, Q.C., and Mr. Horne Payne) now moved on the part of the prosecutors for a *mandamus* to the magistrate commanding him to hear the informations. Having stated the substance of the case as above set forth, he said the short question was (upon this application) whether the Court of Queen's Bench was a "Court of Oyer and Terminer or gaol delivery," so as to be within Sir John Jervis's Act. If so, the magistrate was bound to hear the informations; otherwise, he was not.

Mr. Justice BLACKBURN.—He did not dismiss the information on the merits, but merely upon that doubt as to his jurisdiction?

Sir R. COLLIER.—Precisely so. This was the first time the question had arisen under these statutes, and the magistrate said he felt that he ought not to deal with it except under the autho-

rity of this Court. But for the novelty of the case, however, he really must submit that there was no difficulty or doubt upon the point. Nothing could be more clear than that this Court was a Court of "Over and Terminer." It was so laid down in all the authorities from the very earliest time to the present, and had been abundantly recognized in statutes. It was so decided two centuries ago in Lord Sanchar's case, 9th *Lord Coke's Reports*. It was so laid down by Lord Coke in his *Institutes* (4th *Institutes*). It was so laid down by all subsequent writers upon Crown law—by Hale, by Hawkins, by Blackstone—in short, by all the authorities of our law.

Mr. Justice MELLOR quoted from Lord Hale's *Pleas of the Crown* a passage which appeared to be precise and express upon the point. "In the Court of King's Bench is held every Term a grand inquest before which to present all matters criminal arising within the county, and then the Court proceeds upon the indictment so taken."

Sir R. COLLIER.—Precisely so. And any person upon applying at the Crown-office can ascertain when that grand jury sets, and can present any indictment before it, and the depositions are to be delivered to the "Queen's Coroner, the master of the Crown-office." The course of proceeding, therefore, was perfectly clear, and the difficulty which appeared to have presented itself to the mind of the magistrate really had no existence, although it might easily be understood that he might feel some hesitation in the exercise for the first time of so novel a jurisdiction. When the words of the Act, however, were considered, the point was perfectly plain. The magistrate was to bind over all parties to appear at "the next Court of Oyer and Terminer, where the accused was to be tried." Well, "the next Court of Oyer and Terminer at which the accused would be tried" was, beyond all doubt, the Queen's Bench. The words of the Act showed an evident intention on the part of the Legislature that all indictable offences should be submitted, in the first instance, to the magistrate, for the obvious reason that it was of great importance that there should be depositions which might be sent to the superior court where the accused would be tried, and upon which one of the judges might charge the grand jury.

The COURT granted a rule *nisi* for a *mandamus* to the magistrate. It has been since made absolute.

#### MR. EYRE AND THE JAMAICA COMMITTEE.

*To the Editor of the 'Star.'*

SIR,—In the letter from Mr. Eyre, the late Governor of Jamaica, dated the 24th April, Mr. Eyre impugns the accuracy of the statements which were made by Sir R. Collier at Bow-street on the 22nd February, the 17th April, and the 22nd April, as to his absence from the metropolitan police district. As those statements were made upon instructions furnished to Sir R. Collier by us, we must ask you to be good enough to allow us also to give our "statement of facts."

Mr. Eyre, as he says, returned to England towards the end of August 1866, and we have no

doubt he remained in London a full month, during which he was perfectly safe, as of course it was impossible for us to commence proceedings until our witnesses (who were sent for as soon as the Royal Commissioners made their report) arrived in England.

In January, 1867, when the witnesses were expected to arrive by the next mail, and when we knew that Mr. Eyre had withdrawn from London and taken up his abode at Market Drayton, we communicated with Mr. Rose, his attorney, and told him that we proposed to commence proceedings immediately on the arrival of the witnesses, and asked him whether Mr. Eyre would come forward to meet the proceedings, or whether he would leave us to follow him into the provinces. We understood Mr. Rose to reply (unfortunately the communications were verbal only) that he did not wish Mr. Eyre to be annoyed by proceedings at Adderley Hall, and that, if we would inform him when we proposed commencing proceedings, Mr. Eyre would at once come to town for the purpose of meeting any charge that might be made against him. In this belief we instructed Mr. Fitzjames Stephen, in making his first application to Sir T. Henry, at Bow-street, in February, 1867, to mention that it was understood that Mr. Eyre, although not actually then within the jurisdiction, would at once come forward to meet the charge. Upon this being done, Mr. Rose at once denied having made any such communication to us as above represented, and added, in a letter to the public press, "Mr. Eyre declines the invitation to attend at Bow-street." And in point of fact, he did leave Colonel Nelson and Lieutenant Brand, who had acted under his instructions, to meet the responsibility they had thus assumed by themselves.

As soon as the preliminary examination at Bow-street in that case was concluded, we followed Mr. Eyre to Market Drayton, where we made our application against him on the 25th March. The result of the application, which, we may say, was what we had anticipated, convinced the prosecutors, and those who were advising them, of the inexpediency of taking any further steps before any but legally educated as well as qualified magistrates, and from that time to the present accordingly we have been endeavouring to catch Mr. Eyre upon any of his flying visits to town. It is true that Mr. Eyre came to town on the 28th May, and that he attended the *levée* on the 29th; but he gave no town address at the Lord Chamberlain's office, which we are informed is usually done; and from the 30th May to the 7th June all our endeavours to ascertain where he was sojourning were unsuccessful. On the 7th June we discovered where he had been, and that he had left town on the 4th, so that although it is true, as he states, that he was "again in London during the latter part of May and early part of June, 1867," his total residence here amounted to seven days, and though it was publicly known that he had attended the *levée* it was *not* publicly known what his address was, the usual disclosure of that fact indeed was avoided.

We dare say Mr. Eyre has paid flying visits to town since then; all we can say is, we have



taken the usual means of being informed of his presence in London without success. We heard of him in Derbyshire, at Dover, in Brussels, and elsewhere, but never within the limits of the jurisdiction of any stipendiary magistrate. However, on the 10th February, we learned that Mr. Eyre had again taken lodgings in London, and on the 14th this information was confirmed by a message from his solicitor, Mr. Rose. Within three days Sir R. Collier was instructed to make an application against him for a warrant, and the application was made on the 27th February. The application having been refused, the whole shape of the proceedings against him had to be revised and reconsidered, and we did not obtain counsel's opinion as to the proper steps to be taken until the 28th March. On the same day we learned that Mr. Eyre had once more left London, and had gone to Worthing. In order to ascertain whether this was for the purpose of avoiding any further proceedings, we wrote to Mr. Eyre's attorney on the 30th, to say that we were instructed to make a fresh application against him for a series of misdemeanours, and to ask if he would come forward to meet it. In answer to this, we received from Mr. Rose no direct reply; but on the 16th April we were informed by Mr. H. Hume that Mr. Eyre was then at the Grosvenor Hotel, and would be there until mid-day on Saturday the 18th. Acting upon this information, on Friday the 17th summonses were applied for and granted. The warrant officer, however, did not succeed in serving Mr. Eyre, either that evening or the next morning, and had to follow him to Worthing for that purpose.

With regard to the instructions which were given on behalf of the Jamaica Committee to the lawyers who, as Mr. Eyre says, were sent out from England and hired in the colony, we must ask you to correct the description he has given of those instructions, by permitting us to complete the passage, a portion of which he has quoted, and to quote one additional paragraph. The following paragraph Mr. Eyre has not thought it suitable to his purpose, in describing these instructions, to quote:—

"It is necessary, in the first place, and throughout all your proceedings, to bear constantly in mind that the object of the Committee is not to secure the victory of one party to the contest over the other; or to screen any criminals from just punishment, but solely to vindicate the supremacy of English law; and consequently, until the Committee is in a position to resolve on definite ulterior action, your duty will be, not that of an advocate, to do the best you can for any client in the island; but, rather, that of a commissioner, on the part of the Committee, to assist in ascertaining and placing in the clearest and most distinct light, the facts that have recently transpired."

The entire passage, a portion of which Mr. Eyre has thought it right to quote in a garbled form, is as follows:—

"So far as any such claimants are concerned, your duty will be to present to the Royal Commission such evidence as they may furnish you with to show the real nature of the course which has been adopted by the Governor and his officers,

and which has been generally described in the despatch of Governor Eyre, and in the reports of his subordinate officers. On the other hand, it is of the utmost importance that the work of the commission should not be performed in such a way as to interfere with or impede any ulterior judicial proceedings which may be resolved upon *for the purpose of bringing to trial any persons who may have been concerned in illegal acts.*

For this purpose you will make such observations to the commissioners as you may find possible and expedient; and, in particular, you will impress upon them the necessity of not permitting any witnesses to be examined without first being warned that they need not answer any question unless they like, and that what they say will be taken down in writing, and may be given in evidence against them upon any trial in which they may be concerned."

The only portion quoted by Mr. Eyre is that which we have put in italics.

With regard to Mr. Eyre's suggestion that the prosecutors might have taken proceedings against him in the island of Jamaica, or in England before the arrival of the witnesses (who were sent for as soon as the Royal Commissioners had made their report), we should not, under any circumstances, deem it necessary to say anything in support of the wisdom of the course which has been pursued; but with the fresh recollection of the recent proceedings in that island in the case of undoubted murderers, and the issue of the application we did make to one not undistinguished bench of English country magistrates, we ought, perhaps, to consider the suggestion an ironical one. The length and nature of Mr. Eyre's residence in London in May and June 1867 we have described above; and, in conclusion, we will only observe that if we were to take proceedings by indictment in the Queen's Bench without any previous examination before a magistrate, we should be presenting an extremely difficult and complicated question of law to a tribunal utterly unfit to deal with any such question, and without being able to procure for them the assistance of any charge by the presiding judge. We should also be attempting to put Mr. Eyre upon his trial without giving him any previous opportunity of publicly hearing and testing by cross-examination the evidence we have accumulated against him—a course which would have rendered the prosecution justly liable to the charge of taking advantage of an accused man behind his back—a charge which is constantly made in such cases, and which we cannot doubt would have been made in this case.

Upon a fairer view of all the circumstances, we do not see how anyone can doubt that the course which has been taken by the prosecutors is not only the fairest to all parties, but is the only one really likely to secure the ends of justice.—We are, sir, yours obediently,

April 29.

THE SOLICITORS TO THE  
PROSECUTION.

### THE FOURTH PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA.

No choice having been made for President at the biennial election held last May, the Legislature, at its session in December, elected the Rev. James S. Payne, and he was inaugurated President of Liberia, January 6, 1868.

Mr. Payne removed to Africa from Kentucky when young, was educated at Monrovia academy, and, entering the ministry of the Methodist Church, soon became a prominent member of the Liberia Conference, serving as presiding Elder for several years. He is a man of marked ability, a successful writer on the science of political economy, and well knows the condition and prospects of the African Republic.

The *Lexington* (Kentucky) *Statesman* gives the following sketch of the fourth President of Liberia:

"James S. Payne was born within four miles of this city, at the place now owned by Mr. William Bradley. Payne's father was the slave of the late Edward Payne, of this country, and his mother the slave of a rich widow named Mukes. She was an indulgent, kind mistress. About 1840 Mrs. Mukes sent young James S. Payne and his brothers and sisters to Liberia. In 1844 Mr. Edward Payne died, and left James Priest Payne, the father, free. About that time James S. returned to Kentucky, and took with him back to Liberia his father. On his mother's side he was a pure negro. His father's mother was about a half-breed Indian. The President of Liberia has an uncle living within four miles of this city, named Abner. He is quite an old man. Twenty-seven years ago the slave-boy left Kentucky for the then colony of Liberia. He to-day rules a young Republic with over 200,000 inhabitants."—*African Repository*, March 1868.

### DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS. 1868.

We beg to acknowledge, with thanks, the following donations and subscriptions, received since our last:

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### ERRATA IN SUBSCRIPTION LIST FOR FEBRUARY 1868.

For Morant Bay, Jamaica, per Rev. Wm. Teall (1867), read Belle Castle, and Stokes Hall, per Rev. H. B. Harris.

### FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

*I give unto the Treasurer or Treasurers, for the time being, of "The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society," established in London in the year 1839, the sum of*  
*Pounds Sterling, to be raised and paid for the purposes*  
*of the said Society, out of such part only of my Personal Estate as shall not consist of*  
*Chattels real or money secured on Mortgage of Lands or Tenements, or in any other*  
*manner affecting Lands or Tenements; and for which the receipt of such Treasurer or*  
*Treasurers shall be a sufficient discharge.*

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Registered for transmission abroad.]